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THE

Book of the Church.

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THE

BOOK OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER XII.

OVERTHROW OF THE PAPAL POWER IN ENGLAND.

WHILE the Clergy, by these cruelties, excited in the people a just hatred of a system which was supported by such means, other causes were preparing the way for a religious revolution. The Government, though it permitted and even encouraged persecution, never deviated from that course of policy which Edward I. had begun, for limiting the Papal authority in England, and checking its extortions. Full efficacy to what he intended was given by the statute of *Præmunire*, in Richard the Second's reign; which, though mainly designed to prevent the Pope from granting English benefices in reversion, struck at the root of his power, by making it highly penal to procure from him any instrument in diminution

of the authority of the Crown. The Popes could never obtain a repeal of this, which they called an execrable statute against the Church, and the head of the Church. Even the Lancasterian Kings, while they endeavoured to root out Lollardy with fire, adhered to the example of their predecessors, in maintaining the rights of the Crown; and when Cardinal Beaufort, by consent of Parliament, was made one of the King's Council, a protestation was required from him, that he would absent himself when any matters between the King and the Pope were to be treated.

As early as Henry the Fourth's reign, the Clergy were alarmed by notices, that the convent lands were in danger of being claimed by the State; and though Henry, at the commencement of his usurpation, assured them that he desired only their prayers, and not their money, they made him, from time to time, large grants, for the purpose of averting this danger. The measure was renewed upon the accession of Henry V., and a Bill was exhibited, praying that temporal lands devoutly given, but disordinately spent by spiritual persons, should be seized into the King's hands; and stating that these lands might suffice to maintain, for the King's honour and defence of the realm, fifteen earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, 100 alms-houses for the poor and

impotent, with a surplus of 20,000*l.* for the King's coffers. How many poor and impotent were to be deprived of support by the proposed transfer, how many artificers and labourers thrown out of employment, what schools of useful education broken up, how many persons of studious and retired habits cast adrift on the world, and how many houses of hospitality closed, were matters of which the promoters of such a scheme thought as little as they cared. But it was for the purpose of diverting the King's attention to other objects, that the Primate advised him to claim the crown, and engage in the conquest, of France.

The enemies, whom the wealth of the Church tempted to assail it, were more dangerous than those who opposed its corrupt doctrines and superstitious practices. Against the latter it could defend itself by aid of the secular arm; something too was effected by the learning and ability of those Prelates whom Henry VII., the most sagacious prince of his age, had promoted; and more might have been done by the timely correction of abuses so gross, that the Romanists of the present age are reduced, in the face of notorious facts, to deny what they find it impossible to defend. But when its wealth had once become an object of cupidity to the Government, the

enemies, whom its corruptions had provoked and its cruelties incensed, were ready to league with any allies against it, and reform and spoliation went hand in hand.

Few princes have succeeded to a throne under such propitious circumstances as Henry VIII., or with so many personal advantages. He found the kingdom at peace, the treasury rich beyond all former example, the country prosperous, the royal authority firmly established. Trade was flourishing, the liberal arts in a state of rapid advancement, and learning rising as it were from the dead. A new world had just been opened to the spirit of adventure, and the discovery of printing was already beginning to change the character of the old. To a great part of the nation he was endeared as the representative of the House of York; and the severe temper of his father, and the fiscal tyranny which his father's ministers had exercised, secured for him that popularity, of which the people are always prodigal when their hopes are raised. With every advantage of person, he united a high degree of bodily and mental accomplishments; his understanding was quick and vigorous, and his learning such as might have raised him to distinction, had he been born in humble life. Had he died before his mind was depraved, and his heart

hardened by sensuality, and the possession of absolute power, his death would have been regretted as a national calamity.

The splendour of his Court exceeded any thing which had ever been seen in Europe. A succession of feasts and pageants was exhibited there, with so profuse an expenditure, that, in less than three years, the whole accumulation of his father's reign, amounting to the then enormous sum of 1,800,000*l.*, was consumed. But it was no less remarkable for learning; in this respect we have the testimony of Erasmus, that no school, no monastery, no university equalled it. Both in his prodigality, and in his patronage of letters, the King was encouraged by his favourite, Wolsey, the most munificent of men. Under his administration, the disorders of the Clergy were repressed, men of worth and learning were promoted in the Church, libraries were formed, and the study of Greek and Hebrew introduced at Oxford. The practices and doctrines of the Church, Wolsey took as he found, and so he would have left them; but he removed its ignorance, reformed its manners, and might have enabled it yet awhile to have supported itself by the improvements which it derived from his liberality and love of learning, if a more perilous but needful reformation had not commenced, when Luther proclaimed the principles of religious

liberty which he had derived from Huss, and Huss from Wicliffe.

Little could it have been apprehended, when Henry engaged in controversy with Luther, and for so doing obtained from the Pope the title of Defender of the Faith, that the reformation, under his auspices, would be introduced into England. A speech of the Court Fool upon that occasion has been preserved: "O, good Harry, let thou and I defend one another, and let the Faith alone to defend itself." The same turn of mind which led him thus to come forward as the champion of the Church, became, accidentally, the cause of his defection from it, when he applied his casuistry to the purpose for which that art has usually been employed, that of making his conscience conform to his inclinations. He was desirous of male issue; he was weary of his wife, who had ceased child-bearing; and he was in love with Anne Boleyn. Queen Catharine was by manners and disposition better suited for a convent than a court; . . . she was pious and noble-minded, but now of infirm health, and always of a melancholy constitution. Had she possessed his affections as she did his esteem, it is not likely that he would have fallen into scruples concerning the lawfulness of the marriage, because she had been his brother's widow; but the scruple accorded with his wishes; and it suited also so well with his

predilection for subtleties, that, from whatever motive it may at first have been entertained, there is abundant proof of his having been sincere in it when the question was brought before the world.

The question is one which admits of an easy and decisive solution. The impediment was not founded upon natural and moral law; therefore it was dispensable by that authority in which the dispensing power was vested; and having been dispensed with, it would be manifestly unjust to revoke a dispensation, which had been acted upon in good faith. But any case may be perplexed by legal subtleties, when law has been made a craft, and this question was suited to the age; for hitherto all active intellects throughout Christendom had been exercised only in spinning the snares of disputation,...and it was but in this generation that a course of healthier studies had been opened. The point was so doubtful, according to the notions which then prevailed, that the French Ambassador objected, on this score, to a marriage proposed between Francis I., or his brother, and the Princess Mary; and when it came to be discussed by all the canonists throughout Europe, opinions were divided.

The Queen demeaned herself during the proceedings with a true dignity, to which history has rendered justice, and from which, I believe, no writer has ever yet been base enough to detract.

There was a deeper sorrow in her heart, than what her own wrongs occasioned; she had not offended, she said,...but it was a judgement of God, for her former marriage had been made in blood. King Ferdinand, her father, had stipulated that the Earl of Warwick should be put to death, for the purpose of securing the succession to her issue, and Catharine felt that this innocent life was visited upon her head. The Pope would have made little demur in granting a divorce, had he not feared to offend her nephew, the Emperor; his policy was to prolong the suit; "whilst it depended, he was sure of two great friends, but when it should be decided, of one great foe." A strange compromise was proposed by Henry, that if the Queen would not take the vows, and thus, by retiring into a convent, consent to their divorce, a dispensation for having two wives might be granted him, which, it was pretended, was sanctioned by the Old Testament; both the Pope and the Emperor agreed to this, and probably the only reason why the matter was not thus accommodated, was an apprehension of the just scandal which such a measure would excite. The Court of Rome sought, therefore, to protract the suit, in hopes that the not improbable death of the Queen, or some other of those accidents to which human affairs are subject, might extricate it from its

embarrassment. But Henry, who had fixed his affections, such as they were, upon Anne Boleyn, with singular constancy for such a man, during the process, was not of a temper patiently to brook seven years' delay; and perceiving that nothing was to be looked for from the Pope, but a continuance of studied procrastination, resolved to act in defiance of him.

Henry's penetration enabled him always to select men of ability for his service. Among the eminent persons whom he had raised to importance for their qualifications, Cromwell and Cranmer were peculiarly fitted to promote the object which he had now in view, of withdrawing the Church of England from its subjection to the See of Rome, the former from interested, the latter from conscientious, motives . . .Thomas Cromwell is a man whom the Romanists paint in the blackest colours, because during that age they estimated the characters of men by no other criterion than their service or disservice to the Papal cause; neither justice, therefore, nor charity, is to be found in their representations. Of Cromwell, it may truly be said, that many who have entertained better principles, have been worse men. The desire of obtaining promotion and keeping it, was his ruling motive; and to this he made his conduct subservient. He was bold and unscrupulous; but if any redeeming

virtues may atone for a time-serving ambition, they were to be found in him. In the most selfish, the most ungrateful, the most cruel age of English history, he was generous, grateful, and compassionate; and it was by the fidelity with which he served his first patron, Wolsey, when that munificent man was disgraced and ruined, that he acquired the good opinion of the King. Cranmer, on the contrary, was a meek, unworldly spirit, courageous only when the strong sense of duty enabled him to overcome his natural temper. Widely dissimilar as they were in other respects, there was a bond of friendship between them, in their generous and benevolent feelings, and in these unhappily little sympathy was to be found elsewhere.

By Cromwell's suggestion, Henry resolved to declare himself head of the Church in his own dominions; and the same politic minister devised a means, whereby the submission of the Clergy to this decisive measure was secured. The statute of *Præmunire* had been so little observed, before it had been made the engine for Wolsey's overthrow, that almost all the higher Clergy had become amenable to its penalties; and when this charge was brought against them, they were glad to compound by paying the heavy sum of 100,000*l.*, and acknowledging the King's supremacy, with the qualifying clause *quantum per*

Christi leges licet. This great measure was soon followed by the divorce, which was pronounced in his own Court, and by his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

Hitherto the system of persecution had been carried on with unabated rigour, if indeed the progress of the reformed opinions openly in Germany, and rapidly every where else, did not rather provoke the Clergy to a stricter vigilance, and a more exasperated vengeance. Children were compelled to accuse their parents, and parents their children, wives their husbands, and husbands their wives, unless they would share the same fate. The poor wretches, who saved their lives by abjuration, were, under the name of perpetual penance, condemned to perpetual bondage, being distributed to monasteries, beyond the precincts of which they were never to pass, and where by their labour they were to indemnify the convent for their share of such food as was regularly bestowed in charity at the gate. The mark of the branding-iron they were never to conceal; they were to bear a faggot at stated periods, and once at the burning of a heretic,... for which purpose, every one who contributed a faggot was rewarded with forty days' indulgence!

Among the martyrs of those days, Thomas Bilney is one whose name will ever be held in

deserved reverence. He had been brought up from a child at Cambridge, where, laying aside the profession of both laws, he entered upon what was then the dangerous study of divinity; and being troubled in mind, repaired to priests, who enjoined him masses, fasting, watching, and the purchase of indulgences, till his scanty purse, and feeble constitution, were both well nigh exhausted. At this time, hearing the New Testament, which Erasmus had just published, praised for its Latinity, he bought it for that inducement only; and opened it upon a text, which, finding his heart open, rooted itself there:...“ This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.” The comfort which these words conveyed was confirmed by the frequent perusal of a book which now became to him sweeter than honey, or the honey-comb; and he began to preach as he had learnt, that men should seek for righteousness by faith. It was not long before he was accused before Cuthbert Tonstal, then Bishop of London, a man of integrity and moderation, though compelled to bear a part in proceedings which were utterly abhorrent to his natural disposition. The main accusations against him were, that he asserted Christ was our only mediator, not the Virgin Mary, nor the Saints; that pilgrimages were

useless; and that offerings to images were idolatry. Of these doctrines, he was found guilty; but was persuaded to recant, and accordingly bore a faggot at St. Paul's Cross. It appears that Tonstal, with his wonted humanity, favoured and wished to save him; he was not branded, nor subjected to any further punishment, but permitted to return to Cambridge.

From that hour, Bilney had no peace in himself. Latimer, who was at that time Cross-keeper in the University, and who was one of his converts, describes him as having fallen into so deep a melancholy, that his friends were fain to be with him day and night, fearing to leave him alone; and seeking to comfort him, who would not be comforted, not even by religion, for "he thought the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation." In this state he continued nearly two years, till feeling that death was better than to live thus self-condemned, he overcame the weakness of his nature, and resolved by a brave repentance to expiate an offence, for which he should otherwise never forgive himself; without communicating the purpose to his friends, he took leave of them one night in Trinity Hall, saying, he would go up to Jerusalem, and should see them no more. Immediately he departed into Norfolk, and there preached, not only secretly in houses among the

reformed, but openly in the fields, confessing how he had fallen, and publicly declaring his repentance, and warning all men by his example to beware how they denied the truth, for which it was their duty, if need were, to lay down their lives. It was not long before he was apprehended in Norwich, for giving an English New Testament to a recluse, or anchoress, in that city; and immediately Nix, the merciless Bishop of that diocese, sent to London for a writ to burn him.

The Sheriff, to whose custody he was delivered, happened to be one of his friends, and therefore treated him with every kindness which could be afforded during his imprisonment. The night before he was to suffer, some friends who visited him, found him at supper eating heartily, and with a cheerful countenance; and one of them saying he was glad to see him refresh himself thus, so shortly before he was to undergo so painful a death, he replied, "I follow the example of those who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, hold it up by props as long as they may." Another observed, that his pains would be short, and the Spirit of God would support him in them, and reward him afterward with everlasting rest. Bilney, upon this, put his finger into the candle, which was burning before him, more than once. "I feel," said he, "by expe-

rience, and have long known by philosophy, that fire is naturally hot; yet, I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some Saints of God therein recorded, that in the flame they may feel no heat, and in the fire no consumption. And I constantly believe, that, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby,... a pain for the time,...whereon followeth joy unspeakable." And then he repeated the words of Scripture, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, thou shalt not be consumed, and the flame shall not burn thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel, thy Saviour!" This text he applied to himself, and to those who were present, some of whom, receiving the words as the legacy of a blessed martyr, had them fairly written in tables, or in books, and derived comfort from them till their dying day.

On the following morning he was led to execution. One of his friends, exhorting him at the prison door with few and secret words, to take his death patiently and constantly, Bilney answered, "When the mariner is tossed upon the troubled sea, he beareth his perils better, in hope that he

shall yet reach his harbour; so, whatever storms I shall feel, my ship will soon be in its quiet haven; thereof, I doubt not, by the grace of God,...and I entreat you, help me with your prayers, to the same effect." The place of execution was a low valley, surrounded with rising ground, without the Bishop's Gate. It was chosen for these executions, that the people might see the spectacle from the ascent, as in an amphitheatre; and from the frequency of such spectacles, it was called the Lollards' Pit. There was a ledge upon the stake to raise the victim, that he might be the better seen; for the persecutors were desirous of displaying to the utmost, these inhuman executions, not understanding that though many hearts would be hardened by such sights, and many intimidated, there were not a few also which would be strengthened and inflamed. Having put off the layman's gown, in which, after his degradation, he had been clad, he knelt upon the ledge, and prayed with deep and quiet devotion, ending with the 143d Psalm, in which he thrice repeated the verse, "Enter not into judgement with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." He then put off his jacket and doublet, and remained in his hose and shirt, and so was chained to the stake. Some Friars came to him, and said the people imputed his death to them, and for that

reason, would withhold their alms; wherefore they entreated him to assure the spectators, that it was not their act. Bilney, upon this, said with a loud voice, "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men, for my sake, as though they were the authors of my death, it was not they." The dry reeds were then kindled; and in a few minutes, Bilney, triumphing over death, rendered up his soul in the fulness of faith, and entered into his reward.

The heart of man is strong when it is put to the proof; and those were times which tried the heart. These dreadful spectacles were attended, not by the brutal multitude alone, who came as to a pastime, and by those who, for the sake of gratifying their curiosity, chose to endure the sight: the friends and fellow-believers of the sufferer seem generally to have been present, as an act of duty; they derived, from his example, strength to follow it, when their hour should come; and to him it was a consolation to recognise sympathizing faces amid the crowd; to be assured, that in his agony he had their silent, but fervent, prayers to support him; and to know that, as faithful witnesses, they would do justice to his memory, which else was at the mercy of his enemies. For it was one of the pious frauds of the Romanists, to spread reports that their victims had seen and acknowledged their error,

when too late to save their lives, and had asked pardon of God and man for their heresies, with their latest breath. This last wrong was offered to Bilney, and it would have been fatal to his good name on earth, the falsehood having been believed and published by Sir Thomas More, if Parker, in whose primacy the Church of England was afterwards established by Elizabeth, had not attended at this martyrdom, for the love which he bore the martyr, and established the truth by his unquestionable testimony.

Bilney's example, in all parts, was followed by James Bainham, of the Middle Temple, the son of a Gloucestershire knight. Having been flogged and racked, without effect, to make him accuse others of holding the same opinions as himself, the fear of death induced him to abjure, and bear a faggot. But a month had scarcely elapsed before he stood up in the face of the congregation in St. Austin's Church, with the English Testament in his hand, and openly proclaiming that he had denied the truth, declared that, if he did not return to it, that book would condemn him at the day of judgement; and exhorted all who heard him, rather to suffer death, than fall as he had fallen, for all the world's good would not induce him again to feel such a hell as he had borne within him since the hour of his abjuration. He was accordingly brought to the stake in Smith-

field; and there, to the astonishment of the spectators, when his extremities were half consumed, he cried aloud, "O ye Papists, ye look for miracles, and behold a miracle; for in this fire I feel no pain; . . . it is to me as a bed of roses!" The fact may be believed, without supposing a miracle, or even recurring to that almost miraculous power which the mind sometimes can exercise over the body. Nature is more merciful to us than man to man; this was a case, in which excess of pain had destroyed the power of suffering; no other bodily feeling was left but that of ease after torture; while the soul triumphed in its victory, and in the sure anticipation of its immediate and eternal reward.

The book which Bainham held up in the church, when he proclaimed his repentance, and his readiness to die for the truth, would alone have been sufficient to draw upon him inquiry and persecution. It was Tindal's translation, now one of the rarest volumes in the collections of the curious; and, in its effects upon this nation, the most important that ever issued from the press. Nothing more is known of the translator's origin, than that he was born somewhere upon the borders of Wales. Having been bred up from a child at Oxford, and graduated there, and studied afterwards awhile at the other University, he was engaged in the family of a Gloucestershire Knight,

Welsh by name, as tutor to his children. Open house was kept there, and the table being frequented by Abbots, Deans, and the other higher Clergy of the country, the conversation turned often upon Luther and Erasmus, and other points which were the touchstones of men's minds. In these conversations, Tindal declared his opinions with so much freedom, and prest them sometimes with so much force, that, at length, for his own safety, and for the sake of the family which favoured him, he deemed it necessary to withdraw. He was eminently one of those fit instruments which are never wanting when any great design of Providence is to be brought about; a man devoted to learning, zealous for the truth, of irreproachable life, and moderate desires, wishing for nothing more than a yearly income of ten pounds for his subsistence, and a situation in which he might teach children and preach the word of God.

Itinerant preaching excited no surprise in those days, because it was practised by the Friars. He preached awhile about the country, and more particularly about Bristol, and in that part of the city which was then called St. Austin's Green. Experience had made him cautious; and his opinions, when he addressed the people, were probably rather to be inferred from his silence upon dangerous points, than from his words. For

at this time he had formed the intention of translating the New Testament; the language of Wicliffe's version had become obsolete, and it was also a prohibited book. Tindal meant to render it from the original Greek, and entertained a hope of doing it under Tonstal's protection, whom Erasmus had so "extolled for his learning and virtue, that he thought no lot could be more desirable for him, nor more suitable to his purpose, than to be received into the Bishop's service." He presented himself, therefore, with a recommendatory letter from Sir Henry Gilford, the King's Controller, and an oration of Isocrates translated from the Greek. But Tonstal's establishment was full, and he was taken into the house of Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy and benevolent citizen, who inclined to the principles of the Reformation. This liberal man bestowed exhibitions at that time upon many deserving men at the Universities, some of whom rose to great distinction; approving of Tindal's views and intentions, he engaged to supply him with ten pounds a year: other good men contributed something, and Tindal embarked for Hamburg, travelled into Germany, where he conferred with Luther and others of the great Protestant Divines, and then settling at Antwerp, as the best place for printing his book and securing its transmis-

sion to England, completed the New Testament there.

Tindal had perceived, he said, that it was impossible to establish the people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before them in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text. The Romanists understood perfectly well how little the practice of their Church was supported by Scripture; and that if the Ark of the Covenant was admitted, Dagon must fall. No sooner, therefore, was it discovered that copies of this translation were industriously dispersed in England, and eagerly bought, than Archbishop Warham and Tonstal prohibited it, as being corrupted with articles of heretical pravity, and opinions erroneous, pernicious, pestilent, scandalous, tending to seduce persons of simple and unwary dispositions; and they issued orders and monitions for bringing them in and burning them. Tonstal himself, who of all the Romish Prelates was the most averse to the cruelties in which he was engaged, employed a merchant secretly to purchase the copies that remained in Tindal's hands, as the easiest and surest mode of preventing their dispersion. The agent in this transaction was secretly a friend of Tindal, who, being very desirous of correcting the translation, gladly sold

them, and with the money which he thus obtained, printed an improved edition.

A spirit had now been roused, which no persecution could suppress. Dangerous as it was to possess the book, it was eagerly sought for; and of those persons who dispersed it, some were punished by penance and heavy fines; others. who preached and avowed its doctrines, by the flames. A brother of Tindal, with two others concerned in circulating these Testaments, were sentenced to pay the enormous fine of 18,840*l.* and ten-pence; and they were made to ride with their faces to the horse-tail, papers on their heads, and as many of the condemned books as they could carry fastened to their clothes all around them,...to the standard in Cheapside, and there, with their own hands, throw the copies which had been seized into the fire. But burning the Testament appears to have excited some surprise and displeasure, even in those who regarded the burning of those who read it as an affair in the regular course of things. Tonstal, therefore, who saw with what effect the press was employed against the Romish Church, requested Sir Thomas More to write and publish against Tindal's translation, and the other condemned books written by Tindal and his coadjutors, for which purpose a license was granted him to read them. Well had it been for humanity, if no other

means had ever been employed for opposing or extending the principles of the Reformation.

Sir Thomas More is represented, by the Protestant Martyrologists, as a cruel persecutor; by Catholics, as a blessed martyr. Like some of his contemporaries, he was both. But the character of this illustrious man deserves a fairer estimate than has been given it, either by his adorers or his enemies. It behoves us ever to bear in mind, that while actions are always to be judged by the immutable standard of right and wrong, the judgement which we pass upon men, must be qualified by considerations of age, country, situation, and other incidental circumstances; and it will then be found, that he who is most charitable in his judgement, is generally the least unjust. Sir Thomas More would, in any age of the world, have ranked among the wisest and best of men. One generation earlier, he would have appeared as a precursor of the Reformation, and perhaps have delayed it by procuring the correction of grosser abuses, and thereby rendering its necessity less urgent. One generation later, and his natural place would have been in Elizabeth's Council, among the pillars of the State, and the founders of the Church of England. But the circumstances wherein he was placed were peculiarly unpropitious to his disposition, his happiness, and

even his character in aftertimes. His high station (for he had been made Chancellor upon Wolsey's disgrace) compelled him to take an active part in public affairs; in forwarding the work of persecution, he believed that he was discharging not only a legal, but a religious, duty; and it is but too certain, that he performed it with activity and zeal. "The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More," were among the last words which Bainham uttered amid the flames. The Protestants, who, by his orders, and some of them actually in his sight, were flogged and racked, to make them declare with whom they were connected, and where was the secret deposit of their forbidden books, imputed the cruelty of the laws to his personal inhumanity. In this they were as unjust to him, as he was in imputing moral criminality to them: for he was one of those unworldly dispositions which are ever more willing to endure evil than to inflict it. It is because this was so certainly his temper and his principle, that his decided intolerance has left a stain upon his memory: what in his contemporaries was only consistent with themselves and with the times, appearing monstrous in him, who in other points was advanced so far beyond his age. But by this very superiority it may partly be explained. He perceived, in some of the crude and perilous opinions which were

now promulgated, consequences to which the Reformers, in the ardour and impatience of their sincerity, were blind: he saw that they tended to the subversion, not of existing institutions alone, but of civil society itself: the atrocious frenzy of the Anabaptists in Germany confirmed him in this apprehension; and the possibility of re-edifying the Church upon its old foundations, and giving it a moral strength which should resist all danger, entered not into his mind, because he was contented with it as it stood, and in the strength of his attachment to its better principles, loved some of its errors and excused others. Herein he was unlike his friend Erasmus, whom he resembled equally in extent of erudition and in sportiveness of wit. But More was characteristically devout: the imaginative part of Catholicism had its full effect upon him; its splendid ceremonials, its magnificent edifices, its alliance with music, painting, and sculpture, (the latter arts then rapidly advancing to their highest point of excellence,) its observances, so skilfully interwoven with the business, the festivities, and the ordinary economy of life,...in these things he delighted,...and all these the Reformers were for sweeping away. But the impelling motive for his conduct was, his assent to the tenet, that belief in the doctrines of the Church was essential to salvation. For upon

that tenet, whether it be held by Papist or Protestant, toleration becomes, what it has so often been called,...soul-murder: persecution is, in the strictest sense, a duty; and it is an act of religious charity to burn heretics alive, for the purpose of deterring others from damnation. The tenet is proved to be false by its intolerable consequences,...and no stronger example can be given of its injurious effect upon the heart, than that it should have made Sir Thomas More a persecutor.

The first of his controversial works was not unworthy of its author. It was in the form of a dialogue with one whose mind had been unsettled by the new doctrines; and the worse cause had the better advocate. It was, however, not uncandidly or unfairly managed. Sir Thomas seemed willing to take the opportunity of commenting upon some scandalous practices, while he defended the Church of Rome on all main points; and this was done with characteristic pleasantry, not the less likely to please because of its occasional coarseness, in good humour with the disputant, kindly in manner, always with an appearance of reason, and sometimes cogently. Still it was strongly tinctured with the bitterness of the Romish spirit, and the heretics were spoken of as branches cut from the vine, and reserved only for the fire first here, and after-

wards in hell. The dialogue was answered by Tindal, and More, in his subsequent writings, degenerated into the worst form of controversy, and its worst temper.

Two men, of great note among the reformers, wrote in defence of Tindal and his opinions; Robert Barnes, the one, had been Prior of the Augustines in Cambridge, but, after bearing a faggot, had escaped beyond sea. The other, John Frith, was one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey removed to the college which he had founded at Oxford, a proof in what estimation he was held for his abilities, conduct, and attainments. It was soon discovered that many of these persons inclined to the new doctrines; Frith among others: he had, in fact, become the disciple and friend of Tindal, during Tindal's abode at Cambridge. Some of them died in consequence of confinement in an unwholesome cellar; their death excited Wolsey's compassion, and he ordered the others to be released, on condition of their remaining within a certain distance of Oxford. Frith, however, fled to the Continent, and, returning after a few years, was apprehended as a vagabond at Reading, and set in the stocks. The schoolmaster of the town, hearing him bewail himself in Latin, entered into conversation with him, and, finding him an accomplished scholar, procured his liberty. It appears

that he had come over to diffuse his opinions at all risks; and yet with a fervour which approached to enthusiasm in his love of the truth, and his devotion to it, few of the reformers were so temperate in their opinions. In this his own cool judgement accorded with the advice of Tindal, that avoiding high questions, which surpass common capacity, and expounding the law so as to convince men of sin, he should "set abroach the mercy of our Lord and Saviour," and let wounded consciences drink of the living waters. The manner in which Tindal, writing to him at the time, speaks both of himself and his friend, will show what these men were, whom Sir Thomas More described as fit only for the fire here and hereafter! "There liveth not," he says, "in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep a-low by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet, in things that may abide

leisure, ye will defer... and let it pass; and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me; for I call God to record, that I never altered one syllable of God's word"... (More had accused him of so doing)... "against my conscience; nor would this day, if all that is on the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me... If there were in me any gift that could help at hand and aid you, if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God... But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men; speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted. Your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me, remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth."

When this letter was delivered to him, he was a prisoner in the Tower, a paper of his, upon transubstantiation, written by the desire of one of his friends, having been treacherously delivered to Sir T. More, who thereupon used all means for discovering him, and finally succeeded, though he repeatedly changed his dress and his place of abode. To the arguments which More published against his treatise, Frith replied from

prison, with great ability and great moderation; not shrinking from avowing his entire disbelief in a corporeal presence, but desiring only that men might be left to judge upon that point as God should open their hearts, no party condemning the other, but nourishing brotherly love, and each bearing the other's infirmity. The like he said concerning purgatory, requiring that a belief in it should not be insisted on as essential to salvation. Many peradventure would marvel, he observed, seeing he would have these things be left indifferently unto all men, whether to believe or not, what then was the cause why he would so willingly suffer death? "The cause," said he, "why I die is this; for that I cannot agree that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing, if it were most true, (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture, or doctors,) yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it never so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith."

Tindal, hearing of his danger, encouraged him by his letters to suffer constantly. They who abjured, he said, and afterwards repented, and died to witness their repentance, afforded their

enemies occasion to malign their memory; so that though their death was accepted with God, it was not glorious, and lost in great part its effect upon others. ..." Your cause," said he, " is Christ's Gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed daily, and that oil poured in evening and morning, that the light go not out." He encouraged him by the doctrine of fatalism, (which Tindal had adopted, and upon which More had victoriously attacked him,) and by a better reliance upon God. " Yield yourself," said he, " commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine. If the pain be above your strength, remember 'whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you,' and pray to your Father in that name, and he shall cease your pain, or shorten it."

Frith needed not these stirring exhortations from a friend who, as he well knew, was ready to act as he advised. When he was taken to Croydon, for examination, by two of the Archbishop's people, the men were so won by his discourse, and so unwilling to lead him like a sheep to the slaughter, that they devised a plan for letting him escape, and proposed it to him. Upon his refusing with a smile, and saying that he was not afraid to deliver his opinion, they

asked him, wherefore then he had been willing to fly before he was apprehended, if now he did not think proper to save himself? He answered, "I would then fain have enjoyed my liberty, for the benefit of the Church of God; but being now by his Providence delivered into the hands of the Bishops, to give testimony to that doctrine which I am bound to maintain,...if I should now start aside, I should run from my God, and be worthy of a thousand hells. Bring me, therefore, I beseech you, where I was appointed to be brought; or else I will go thither alone." Being at length brought for final examination, before Stokesley and Gardiner, the Bishops of London and Winchester, both distinguished for the severity with which they enforced the persecuting laws,... he was by them condemned as a wicked and stiff-necked heretic, persisting with damnable obstinacy in his detestable opinions; for which they excommunicated him, and left him to the secular power; "most earnestly," said the sentence, "requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated." Could any heresy be more detestable and more impious than such language?

One Andrew Hewet, a young tailor, who was

taken up as a suspected person, and on his examination had declared, that he believed concerning the Sacrament as Frith did; was told, that if he persisted in that opinion, he should be burnt with him. And upon his expressing his resolution to follow Frith's example, he was sent to the same prison, and taken with him to Smithfield, where they were fastened to the same stake, back to back. The Romanists notice the simple sincerity of this young man with a sneer, and make no remark upon the execrable inhumanity of those who burnt him alive for it. When they were at the stake, a priest admonished the people in no wise to pray for them, no more than they would for a dog; words which excited indignation in the multitude, but moved Frith only to a compassionate smile, and a prayer that the Lord would forgive such persecutors. He suffered with that constancy which was to be expected from so true a courage, and so firm a faith; and the last expression which could be noticed, was one of thankfulness, that the wind having carried the force of the fire to the other side of the stake, had shortened the sufferings of his companion in martyrdom. Tindal did not long survive his friend. A villain, by name Henry Philips, who had been an English student at Louvain, by a long and most odious scheme of treachery, betrayed him into the hands of the

Emperor's Court at Brussels; and he was put to death at Vilvorde, by a more merciful martyrdom than would have been his lot in England, being strangled at the stake before he was burnt.

To so excellent a man as Tindal, who was "without spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kind of sin or crime," (thus he is described by those who knew him,) death could at no time be unwelcome in such a cause. And he had already seen, that through his efforts, though not by his means, his countrymen would have the Scriptures in their own tongue, and thus his heart's desire would be accomplished. Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, as it had been preceded by his separation from the authority of the Church of Rome, was followed by a reformation of its doctrines. Upon Warham's death, Cranmer was made Primate; one of his first measures was to procure a resolution from both houses of convocation, to request his Majesty that the Scriptures should be translated by some learned men, whom he should appoint, and delivered unto the people according to their learning; and before Tindal's martyrdom, Miles Coverdale's bible was allowed to be used. Tindal had published the Pentateuch and the Book of Jonah from the Hebrew; the

Psalter, and some other portions, had been published by George Joye, but Coverdale's was a complete version; and this book, printed, it is supposed, at Zurich, was not only allowed in England, but its use enjoined; injunctions to the Clergy being issued by the King's authority, that the whole Bible, both in Latin and English, should be placed in the quire of every parish church; and that all men should be encouraged and exhorted to read it as the very word of God, that thereby they might the better know their duty to God, their sovereign lord the King, and their neighbour.

This most important change was brought about by Cranmer, with Cromwell's aid, and through the Queen's favour. The decided manner in which Anne Boleyn promoted the great religious change occasioned by Henry's desire of marrying her, has given historical importance to a life, which otherwise would only have afforded a theme for tragedy. Of what importance it was to the Reformation, may be seen by the fiendish malignity with which her story has been blackened. That event, to which England owes her civil as well as her intellectual freedom, is represented by the Romanists as disgraceful in its origin, flagitious in its course, and fatal in its end. The Church of England canonizes none of its benefactors; it is even blameable for pay-

ing no honours to the memory of those virtuous men by whose exertions it was founded, and who laid down their lives in its service. It regards Anne Boleyn as a woman, who encouraged in the King an attachment, from which the sense of duty ought to have made her turn away. The splendour of a crown had dazzled her; and he who beholds in the events of this world that moral government, which is sufficiently apparent, sees that in her otherwise unmerited fate, she was punished for this offence. But the Romanists were in that age so accustomed to falsehood, that they could not abstain from it, even when truth might have served their cause. With characteristic effrontery they asserted, that her mother and her sister had both been mistresses of the King; that she was his own daughter; and that her nominal father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, reminded him of this, to prevent, if possible, the incestuous marriage, but in vain. They described her as a monster of deformity and wickedness. In this spirit their histories of our Reformation were composed, till they perceived that such coarse calumnies could no longer be palmed upon the world, and then they past into an insidious strain, little less malicious, and not more faithful.

It was by Queen Anne's influence that Bilney's convert, Latimer, was made Bishop of Worcester. He, more than any other man, promoted

the Reformation by his preaching. The straightforward honesty of his remarks, the liveliness of his illustrations, his homely wit, his racy manner, his manly freedom, the playfulness of his temper, the simplicity of his heart, the sincerity of his understanding, gave life and vigour to his sermons, when they were delivered, and render them now the most amusing productions of that age, and to us, perhaps, the most valuable. The public feeling was now in favour of reformation, though even the leaders in that work knew not as yet how far they should proceed. But the Romanists had injured their own cause, and the martyrs had not offered up their lives in vain. Frith's case, in particular, had shocked the people. They had seen him kiss the stake, and suffer with the calm intrepidity of conscious virtue, full of hope and faith; and when they saw so young, so learned, and so exemplary a man put to this inhuman death, for no crime,.. not even for teaching heretical doctrines, but merely because he would not affirm that a belief in purgatory and in the corporeal presence was necessary to salvation, many even of those who believed in both, were shocked at the atrocious iniquity of the sentence. The effect appeared in Parliament; and an act was passed, by which the Clergy were deprived of the power of committing men on suspicion of heresy, or proceeding

against them without presentment or accusation. Presentments by two witnesses at least were required, and then they were to be tried in open court. In other respects, the laws, inhuman as they were, were left in force. The age was not yet ripe for further mitigation, but this was a great and important step.

The Romanists injured themselves by their craft, as well as their cruelty. A Nun in Kent was encouraged to feign revelations; at first, for the purpose of bringing a particular image into repute,...afterwards, a political bearing was given to the imposture: she declared strongly against the divorce while the cause was pending, and predicted, that if Henry persisted in his purpose and married another wife, he should not be King a month longer, nay, not an hour in the sight of God, but should die a villain's death. Her prophecies were collected in a book, and repeated in sermons, particularly by the Observant Franciscans, one of whom, preaching before the King, told him that many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a true Micaiah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. The ferocity of Henry's heart had not yet been awakened; he bore this treasonable insolence with patience, and noticed it no farther than by desiring another preacher to comment upon it the ensuing Sunday. But when it was

perceived that the accomplices in this scheme of delusion, emboldened by impunity, had communicated with Queen Catherine and with the Pope's Ambassadors, the affair assumed a serious aspect, and the parties were apprehended. They confessed the imposture, and with this public exposure it might probably have ended, had not other accomplices spread a report that the Nun had been forced into this confession, and tampered with her to make her deny all that she had confessed. She was then executed, with five of her associates, for treason, acknowledging the justice of her sentence, and saying, these men, who must have known she was feigning, persuaded her that it was the work of the Holy Ghost, because what she feigned was profitable to them, . . . and thus they had brought themselves and her to this deserved end.

Among the persons who were implicated for misprision of treason in this affair, was Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, an old and venerable man, but who had been forward in persecuting the Reformers, and acted on this occasion with culpable remissness, for which credulity was no excuse, . . . Cromwell advised him to write to the King, acknowledge his offence, and ask for pardon, which he knew the King would grant. But a blind party-spirit possessed the old man; he wrote back saying, that having a high opinion of

the Nun's holiness, and believing, by what is said in the Prophet Amos, that God will do nothing without revealing it to his servants, he had sometimes spoken with the Nun, and sent his Chaplain to her, for the purpose of trying the truth, and had never discovered any falsehood in her: and for what she told him about the King, he thought it needless to communicate it, because she said she had told it to the King herself; and moreover, she had named no person who should kill him, which, by being known, might be prevented. Therefore he had not thought himself bound to denounce her, and desired, for Christ's sake, that he might no more be troubled about the matter, otherwise he would speak his conscience freely. Cromwell, in reply, exposed the futility and impropriety of such an answer. He appealed to Fisher's conscience, whether, if the Nun had prophesied for the King, he would have given such easy credit to her; told him, that if it came to a trial, he must be found guilty; and again assured him of pardon, if he would ask for it, . . . the Bishop's persistance in refusing to do this was plainly a matter of obstinacy, not of conscience.

Sir Thomas More also was accused of having communicated with the Nun, and being so far concerned with her, as to bring him within reach of the statute. But he acted with more judg-

ment and better temper, when Cromwell, who was his friend, invited him, in like manner, to exculpate himself. He had heard of her, he said, eight or nine years ago, when the King put into his hands a roll containing certain words, which, according to report, she had spoken in her trances, but which he thought such as any silly woman might utter. Afterwards, he had heard other of her revelations; some very strange and some very childish. Nevertheless, thinking her to be a pious woman, he had visited her once and desired her prayers, and written to her, advising her to beware how she meddled with affairs of state. A copy of this letter he sent to Cromwell. It expressed more belief in her revelations than Sir Thomas ought to have given, after she herself had told him that the Devil was caught in her chamber one day, in the shape of a bird, which when it was taken, changed into such a strange ugly shape, that they threw him out of the window in their fright. A meritorious deed, he said, had been done in bringing this detestable hypocrisy to light; and, for himself, he had neither in this matter done evil, nor said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought. All that had passed, he had here fully declared; and if, said he, "any man report of me, as I trust verily no man will, and I wot well truly no man can, any word or deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach

of my legal truth and duty toward my most redoubted Sovereign and natural liege Lord, I will come to mine answer, and make it good in such wise as becometh a poor true man to do, that whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue."

The explanation availed, as it ought. But Sir Thomas had resigned the Chancellorship, when Henry had determined upon divorcing himself in defiance of the Papal authority: this had given offence, and Henry was a man upon whose heart enmity took deeper hold than love. He had formerly delighted in More's delightful conversation; but when Sir Thomas's son-in-law congratulated him one day on the favour which he enjoyed, the King having walked in his garden with him, with an arm about his neck, he replied, "I thank God, I find his Grace my very good Lord and Master, and I do believe he doth as singularly favour me, as he doth any subject within this realm. Howbeit, son Roper, I have no cause to be proud of it; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to fly from my shoulders, as fast now as it seemeth to stick." Perceiving now in what direction the current had set, and how probable it was that some perilous question might arise, in which he must sacrifice either his conscience or his life, the alternative had not occasioned a moment's doubt, and he had

endeavoured to prepare his family for the worst. This he did as if it were sportively, in tenderness to them, alarming them once or twice with a false messenger summoning him to appear before the Council, and often taking occasion to remark, that a man might lose his head and be never a whit the worse. When the real summons came he would not suffer his wife and children to accompany him to his boat, as they were wont to do, but kissing them, and desiring their prayers, pulled the wicket after him. For awhile he sat in the boat, with a heavy heart, in silence; then thanked God that the field was won, and resumed his habitual cheerfulness.

The matter upon which he was called for was the oath of the succession, which he had apprehended. No other layman had yet been summoned to swear it; in fact, there was none whose example would carry with it so much weight. Having read the Act and the Preamble, which maintained the lawfulness of the divorce, Sir Thomas said, he would swear to the succession, but not to the Preamble; not that he either condemned the oath, nor the conscience of any man that took it, but take it himself he could not, without jeoparding his soul to perpetual damnation. They required him to declare his reasons, which he declined, and observed, that, seeing to declare them was dangerous, it was no obstinacy

to leave them undeclared....This had never been allowed when men were compelled to declare their opinion concerning the corporeal presence, and then burnt for declaring it! In the conversation which ensued, Cranmer prest him with able arguments, and Cromwell with earnest kindness, to obey the King; but Sir Thomas rested the matter upon his conscience, which, he said, after long leisure and diligent search, had concluded plainly against obedience in this case, whatever might mis-happen. He was therefore committed to the Abbot of Westminster's keeping, till the Council should have determined how to proceed. Fisher had, in like manner, offered to swear to the Act, but refused the Preamble. If Cranmer's advice had been taken, this would have been deemed sufficient; he represented that the succession was the main thing, and it might well suffice, if the whole realm, by the example of these persons, should be brought to maintain it, though there might be some who, either of wilfulness, or of an indurate and invertible conscience, would not alter from their opinion of the King's first marriage.

The advice was wise as well as humane, and Cranmer wisely rested it upon grounds of policy. Cromwell was not wanting in desire to save a man whom he highly esteemed; but Henry was a sovereign not to be dissuaded from his pur-

poses, and, judging of other men's feelings by his own, he looked upon More and Fisher as his determined and dangerous enemies. It was unfortunate for both, that they took precisely the same course, and alleged the same reasons for it; for this, though but a natural coincidence in men who acted upon the same principles, was imputed by Henry to a concerted system of opposition to his government. This opinion was strengthened when some leading members of the Carthusians denied the King's supremacy, which it had now been made treasonable to deny. Several were brought to trial for this, and executed as traitors; and though some of these victims had expressed their hopes for a successful rebellion against one whom they called a tyrant and a heretic,... and others were implicated in the imposture of the Nun, still suffering as they did, for a point of conscience, their execution brought the first stain upon the Reformation in England. For the law created the offence which it punished so severely. It was essential that the King's supremacy should not be opposed; and it was necessary also, for the establishment of this fundamental principle, that it should be recognised by the heads of the Clergy. The proper course would therefore have been, that this recognition should be required from all who chose to retain their professional rank and preferment. Upon those who made

their choice, rather to resign, no farther restraint ought to have been imposed, than that, as in other cases, and under pains and penalties proportionate to the offence, they should do nothing in opposition to what was now the law of the land. But the barbarous manners of the middle ages had hardly yet perceptibly been mitigated; and laws retain their barbarity long after manners have been softened. The nation had been accustomed to the most inhuman executions, for political as well as religious causes; so that actions, which no man can now contemplate without abhorrence, were regarded by them as in the ordinary course of affairs. They who felt differently were advanced beyond their age, if at this time there were any such persons, of which there is no proof.

Henry's appetite for cruelty had not yet been kindled, and he appears reluctantly to have put these Carthusians to death. Some of them were men of family and learning. They had at first concurred with their brethren in convocation, to acknowledge the supremacy which they now denied. This change, therefore, seemed to him not to proceed so much from conscience, as to be connected with designs which might shake his throne. He would fain have persuaded them to submission, and used all means for that purpose; a scruple of conscience, whether right or wrong,

is more likely to be confirmed than removed by such negotiations; and when threats are held out to enforce persuasions, they are sometimes unwillingly fulfilled, because they have been despised, and lest it should be thought that they were made without the intention of fulfilling them. But when an evil course is thus begun, it is persisted in oftentimes from obstinacy and pride. Henry had the feelings of an absolute king; such in reality he was; the civil wars had broken the power of the Barons, and his father's policy had completed what that long struggle had begun; he had rendered the Church dependent upon him, and the Commons had not risen into power. Parliament, therefore, was the mere instrument of his will, and the only check upon him was what might be found in the integrity of his Counsellors, the best and wisest of whom too often found it necessary to acquiesce in what they deeply regretted and disapproved.

When the King perceived that neither imprisonment, nor the execution of the Carthusians, shook Sir Thomas More's resolution, he ordered him to be brought to trial. After the indictment had been read, pardon was offered him, and favour, if he would lay aside what the Court called his obstinacy, and change his opinion. "Most noble Lord," he replied, "I have great reason to return thanks to your honours, for this your great

civility; but I beseech Almighty God that I may continue in the mind I am in, through his grace, unto death." Then answering to the charges against him, he said, that if he had not, as the King's counsellor, opposed the project of the second marriage, according to his conscience,... then, indeed, he might justly have been esteemed a most wicked subject, and a perfidious traitor to God. The offence, if offence it was, to deliver his mind freely, when the King had called for it, he thought had been sufficiently punished by the loss of his estate, and an imprisonment of fifteen months, which had impaired not his health only, but his memory and understanding also. Touching the second charge, that he had obstinately and traitorously refused, when twice examined, to tell his opinion, whether the King was supreme head of the Church, or no;...“ This,” said he, “ was then my answer, that I would think of nothing else hereafter, but of the passion of our blessed Saviour, and of my exit out of this miserable world. I would not transgress any law, nor become guilty of any treasonable crime; for the statute, nor no other law in the world, can punish any man for his silence, seeing they can do no more than punish words and deeds. God only is the judge of the secrets of our hearts.” He protested that he had never revealed his opinion to any person; and, to the

charge of having encouraged Fisher in the like obstinacy, he said, that when that Bishop desired to know how he had answered concerning the oath, his only reply was, that he had settled his conscience, and advised him to satisfy his according to his own mind. A witness was brought against him, to whose testimony Sir Thomas objected, the man being a notorious liar; and was it to be believed, that he would communicate to such a fellow opinions which he deemed it necessary not to explain before the Council? Two persons were called upon to confirm this villain's evidence, and both declined doing it, saying, that being otherwise occupied at the time, they had given no ear to the discourse. Yet upon this evidence the Jury found him guilty... Such were juries in those days.

Sir Thomas then spoke resolutely out, and maintained that judgement ought not to be pronounced against him, because the act, upon which the indictment was founded, was directly repugnant to the laws of God, and of the holy Church. This kingdom had no more right to make laws for the Church, of which it was but one member, than the City of London had for the kingdom. The act was contrary to Magna Charta, by which the Church was secured in the possession of all its rights and liberties. It was contrary also to the coronation oath; and he could not think

himself bound to conform his conscience to the counsel of one kingdom, against the general consent of Christendom. He concluded, in his natural mild temper, that as the Apostle Paul consented to the death of the protomartyr Stephen, and yet both were now Saints in Heaven, so he prayed that, though their lordships were now judges to his condemnation, they might meet hereafter joyfully in everlasting life. It is related of him, that he had been in the habit of tormenting his body by wearing sackcloth, and that after his condemnation he punished himself every night severely with a scourge,...so completely had he surrendered his better mind to the degrading superstitions of the Romish Church, if his biographers, who regarded him as a Saint, are in this point to be credited. But this is certain, that his equanimity never forsook him; that, even on the scaffold, he found occasion for a jest, and that he laid his head upon the block with the cheerfulness of a man, who, knowing that he had acted faithfully according to his conscience, was assured of his reward. Fisher was beheaded a few days before him. The execution of these eminent men, the one nearly fourscore, venerable also for his erudition and his virtues,...the other, the most distinguished ornament of his age and country, was regarded throughout Christendom with wonder and detestation. It was thought

necessary, therefore, that a vindication of the King's conduct should be written, and the person by whom this task was performed was Stephen Gardiner;...the task was worthy of the man. In both cases, the work of retribution may be acknowledged; as persecutors both sufferers had sinned, and both died as unjustly as they had brought others to death. The consideration is important in a Christian's views, but it affords no excuse, no palliation, for the crime.

The King's determination to have his supremacy acknowledged, was exasperated by opposition; and he would even have sent his daughter, the Lady Mary, to the Tower for her refusal, there to suffer as a subject, if Cranmer had not earnestly dissuaded him. To his entreaties he yielded; but, at the same time, warned the Archbishop, that this interference would one day prove his utter confusion. Cranmer could not have been blind to this danger; neither, when the worst consequences, which might have been apprehended, came upon him at last, would he repent of having, in this instance, faithfully discharged his duty. If Henry had always listened to this faithful counsellor, the Reformation would have proceeded as temperately in all other respects as with regard to doctrine, and the reproach which was brought upon it, by the destruction of the religious houses, would have been averted. Tolerated upon their

then present footing, those establishments could not be...They were the strong holds of Popery, the manufactories of Romish fraud, the nurseries of Romish superstition. If religion was to be cleared from the gross and impious fables with which it was well nigh smothered; if the Manichean errors and practices which had corrupted it, were to be rooted out; if the scandalous abuses connected with the belief of purgatory, were to be suppressed; if the idolatrous worship of saints and images was to be forbidden; if Christianity, and not Monkery, was to be the religion of the land;...then was a radical change in the constitution of the monasteries necessary:...St. Francis, St. Dominic, and their fellows, must dislodge with all their trumpery, and the legendary give place to the Bible.

Therefore Cranmer advised the dissolution of the monasteries, as a measure indispensable for the stability of the Reformation; and that out of their revenues more bishoprics should be founded, so that, dioceses being reduced into less compass, every Bishop might be able to fulfil the duties of his office. And to every Cathedral he would have annexed a college of students in divinity, and clergymen, from whom the diocese should be supplied. More than this might justly have been desired. After a certain number of monasteries had been thus disposed of, others

should have been preserved for those purposes of real and undeniable utility connected with their original institution; some, as establishments for single women, which public opinion had sanctified, and which the progress of society was rendering in every generation more and more needful; others, as seats of literature and of religious retirement. Reformed convents, in which the members were bound by no vow, and burthened with no superstitious observances, would have been a blessing to the country.

Cranmer's advice was taken, as to the dissolution; in other respects it was little regarded, though to him it is owing that any thing was saved from the wreck. The overthrow of these houses had long been predicted, because of the evils inherent in their constitution; still more, because of their wealth;...and though the danger had been staved off in Henry the Fifth's reign, even then a precedent had been given to his successors, by the suppression of such alien priories as were subservient to foreign abbeys. For this measure, however, there were just and unanswerable reasons of state. A more dangerous step was taken by Wolsey, in the plenitude of his power. He, with the King's approbation, procured Bulls from the Pope, for suppressing forty smaller monasteries, and endowing, with their possessions, the two colleges which it was

his intention to found at Oxford, and at his birthplace, Ipswich.

The Observant Franciscans had incensed the King, by the part they had taken in the Kentish Nun's imposture, and by the boldness with which they inveighed against the divorce. From resentment, therefore, he suppressed that order of Friars; and, in this act, cupidity could have had no share, for they had no lands, and their convents were given to the Augustinians. More serious measures were intended, when commissioners were appointed to visit the monasteries, and report concerning their state, their discipline, and their possessions. To obtain the latter for the King's use, was the real object; and in the former, they found as much pretext as the fiercest enemies of monachism could have desired. Wicliffe had lamented one crying evil, which has prevailed everywhere where monasteries have existed... the practice of thrusting children into them, and compelling them to bind themselves by irrevocable vows, that the patrimony of the elder or favourite child might not be diminished by their portion. The visitors had authority to dispense with such vows; and many, when they knew this, fell on their knees before them, and prayed to be delivered from their miserable imprisonment. In many of these petty communities, they found parties opposed to each other, captious opposition, vexatious tyranny, and cruel

abuse of power, which dreaded no responsibility. Coining was detected in some houses; the blackest and foulest crimes in others. Many nunneries were in a scandalous state; and so little were the austere rules of their institute observed, that when the observance was insisted on by the visitors, the Monks declared it was intolerable, and desired rather that their community might be suppressed than so reformed.

It was in the lesser monasteries that the worst abuses were found; probably because they served as places of degradation, to which the most refractory or vicious members were sent. This afforded a plea for suppressing them, and a Bill was passed accordingly, for conferring upon the Crown all religious houses, which were not able clearly to expend above 200*l.* a year. The Preamble stated, that when the congregation of Monks, Canons, or Nuns, was under the number of twelve persons, carnal and abominable living was commonly used, to the waste of the property, the slander of religion, and the great infamy of the King and of the realm, if redress should not be had thereof. Their manner of life had, by cursed custom, become so inveterate, that no reformation was possible, except by utterly suppressing such houses, and distributing the members among the great monasteries, wherein religion was right well understood, but which were destitute of such full members as they ought to keep. In order,

therefore, that the possessions of such small religious houses, instead of being spent, spoiled, and wasted for increase of sin, should be converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons, so spending the same, be compelled to reform their lives, Parliament humbly desired the King would take all such monasteries to himself and his heirs for ever.

If the plea for this act had not been undeniably notorious, the greater Abbots, of whom six-and-twenty at that time voted in Parliament, would never have consented to it. Fair promises were held out, that all should be done to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of the realm; and equitable provisions were made (had they been observed) for the reservation of rents, services, corodies, and pensions, the continual keeping up of house and household in the same precinct, by those to whom abbey lands should be past, and for occupying the same extent of the demesne in tillage, the latter under a monthly penalty of ten marks. By this Act 375 convents were dissolved; in the diocese of Bangor not one was left standing. The King became possessed of about 10,000*l.* in plate and moveables, and a clear yearly revenue of 30,000*l.* Some 10,000 persons were cast upon the world; the greater monasteries had no inclination to receive them, and it was at their choice to enter or not. The King cared not what became of

them after he had given them a new gown and forty shillings; many rejoiced in their liberty, and some, it is to be hoped, deserved it and enjoyed it; but it cannot be doubted that the number of vagabonds was increased by this ejectment, and that some gray hairs must have gone down in misery to the grave. The property was soon dispersed by grant, sale, and exchange. This is said to have been Cromwell's advice; and it is a policy which has been followed in all revolutions.

Even before the Act had passed, some of the smaller houses were voluntarily surrendered to the King. The motive may have been a consciousness of crimes, which stood in need of pardon: an expectation of favour; or, what is not less probable, the prevalence of the reformed opinions among the members; for the convents produced many advocates for the Reformation, and some of its martyrs. Queen Catharine did not live to witness these proceedings, which would have grieved her more than her own injuries. She never laid down her royal title; but maintained that her marriage was valid, and, therefore, indissoluble; so in conscience she believed it to be, and persisted in asserting it, for her daughter's sake. It is remarkable that her affection for Henry continued to the last; she called him, in her last letter, her dear lord and

husband, forgave him all the unhappiness he had brought upon her, expressed a tender anxiety for his soul, and concluded by declaring, that her eyes desired him above all things. Shame may have prevented Henry from gratifying this desire; of any better feeling he had now become incapable. The thorough hardness of his heart was shown soon afterwards, when he declared his marriage with Anne Boleyn void, beheaded her upon a false and monstrous charge of adultery and incest, and married Jane Seymour the next day. This change produced no alteration in religious affairs, for the new Queen was of a family which favoured the Reformation, and shared largely in the plunder distributed under that name.

The Lower House of Convocation, in which the Romish party prevailed, presented a protestation at this time, against certain errors and abuses, as worthy of special reformation. The opinions of which they complained, sixty-seven in number, were chiefly what are at this day the tenets of the Protestant Church, blended with which were what Fuller has well called "rather expressions than opinions, and those probably worse spoken than meant, worse taken than spoken." In the Upper House, parties were equally divided; there were, on both sides, men of great learning, ability, and address; and the

advantage which the Protestant Bishops possessed in their cause, was balanced by popular opinion on the side of their antagonists,...for the evils which Sir Thomas More had foreseen, were beginning to be felt. After long consultation and debate, certain articles were at length set forth in the King's name, as Head of the Church of England; it being, the preamble stated, "among the chief cures appertaining to his princely office, diligently to provide that unity and concord in religious opinions should increase and go forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord, touching the same, be repressed and utterly extinguished." The articles were such as could satisfy neither party; both having struggled to introduce their own opinions, and each with considerable success, though, on the whole, to the manifest advantage of the Reformers. The Bible and the three Creeds were made the standards of faith; no mention being made of tradition, nor of the decrees of the Church. Three Sacraments,...those of Baptism, Penance, and the Altar, were said to be necessary to salvation,... four being thus pretermitted: but the corporal presence was declared, and the necessity of auricular confession. Images were allowed as useful, but they were not to be worshipped; and Saints might laudably be addressed as intercessors, though it was asserted that Christ is our

only sufficient mediator. The existing rites and ceremonies were to be retained, as good and laudable; not as having power to remit sin, but as useful in stirring and lifting up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins can be forgiven. Lastly, prayers for the dead were advised as good and charitable; though the question of Purgatory was said to be uncertain by Scripture, and the abuses which, under that belief, had arisen were to be put away.

At the same time, a number of holydays were abolished, more especially such as, falling in harvest, were deemed injurious. The discontent, which these measures occasioned among those who were thoroughly attached to the faith of their forefathers, with all its corruptions, was fomented by certain of the Clergy, and by those men who are ready for any desperate undertaking. They represented, that four Sacraments were now taken away, and the remaining three would not long be left; that all God's service was in danger of being destroyed; and that, unless the King's evil counsellors, who had suppressed the religious houses, were put down, no man would be allowed to marry, or partake the Sacraments, or eat meat, without first paying money to the King; so that they would be brought under a worse bondage, and into a wickeder way of life, than the subjects of the very Turk. The Lincolnshire

men rose in arms upon this quarrel; and their insurrection assumed so serious an aspect, that Henry mustered an army, and hastened in person against them. His approach dismayed the leaders; and the ignorant multitude, being deserted by those who had set them on, sent their complaints to the King, in the form of a petition, protesting withal that they never intended hurt toward his royal person. He returned an answer, in which he reasoned with them, at the same time that he asserted his authority, and sternly reproved their treason. He had never read or heard, he told them, that rude and ignorant common people were meet persons to discern and choose sufficient counsellors for a Prince; how presumptuous then were they, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, thus to take upon them to rule their King! The religious houses had not been suppressed by the act of evil counsellors, as they full falsely asserted; but granted to him by all the Nobles, spiritual and temporal, of the realm, and by all the Commons in the same, by Act of Parliament. No houses had been suppressed wherein God was well served; but those in which most vice, mischief, and abomination of living were used, appearing by their own confession, subscribed with their own hands, at the time of their visitation; and more than the Act

needed had been suffered to stand, for which, if they amended not, there would be more to answer for than for the dissolution of the rest. Reminding them then of his authority and their duty, he required them to deliver up an hundred of their ringleaders to his justice, rather than adventure their own utter destruction. Terrified by this demand, every man endeavoured to shift for himself, and such of the leaders as could be apprehended were put to death.

The discontents assumed a more formidable aspect in the North. An hundred thousand men collected in Yorkshire; they bore a crucifix on one side of their banner, and a chalice and wafer on the other: the men wore, as a cognizance, on their sleeves, the representation of the five wounds, with the name of our Lord; and they called their march the holy and blessed Pilgrimage of Grace. Priests, bearing crosses, went before them; and every where they replaced the Monks and Nuns in the suppressed Monasteries. Men of family and influence were engaged in this rebellion, and some of the great Abbots were afterwards attainted for secretly supplying them with money. Pomfret Castle was yielded to them by the Archbishop of York and Lord Darcy: both were suspected of promoting the rebellion; and both, at this time, being either really or apparently compelled, swore to the covenant of the

insurgents. York and Hull were surrendered to them: Scarborough Castle was bravely defended by Sir Ralph Evers; and Skipton by the Earl of Cumberland, though many of the gentry, whom he entertained at his own cost, deserted him. Encouraged by the rising in Yorkshire, the people rose also in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric of Durham. The rebellion became serious: the army from Lincolnshire could not be removed, lest the people there should assemble and march upon their rear, while the Yorkshire men met them in front. The Earl of Shrewsbury made head against the insurgents with what force he could collect; not waiting for orders or authority, when his duty was so plain: for which the King properly appointed him to the command in chief, and sent him succour with all speed, under the Earls of Derby, Huntingdon, and Rutland, the Marquis of Exeter, and, lastly, the Duke of Norfolk.

The leader of the insurgents was one Robert Aske, a gentleman of mean estate, but of such talents, that no enterprise of this nature seems ever to have been conducted with greater ability in any respect. One of the leaders under him assumed the title of Earl of Poverty. Their numbers and their order were such, that the King's Generals deemed it dangerous to attack them, lest, upon the slightest advantage which might

be gained over the royal army, a general rebellion should break out. Norfolk advised that conditions should be offered: he was suspected of seeking to serve the Romish cause by this means; and there is strong ground for believing this: nevertheless, his advice was good; for the chance of battle would have been greatly in favour of the insurgents, whereas they were not so capable of keeping together, for want of regular supplies, as the King's troops; and, at all events, it was better to proceed by conciliation than by force. A herald was sent to summon them to lay down their arms. Aske received him, sitting in state, with the Archbishop on one side, and Lord Darcy on the other, and having inquired what he was charged to proclaim, would not allow him to publish it. Upon this, the King summoned all the Nobles to meet him at Northampton, and the army advanced to Doncaster, to prevent the rebels from proceeding farther to the south; they were now thirty thousand in number, the king's force only six thousand, . . . and, in point of arms and discipline, there was little difference. The latter, however, had fortified the bridges; and the insurgents could not ford the Don, which was so seasonably rendered impassable by heavy rains, that the circumstance was represented as a direct interference of Providence. Time was thus gained for negotiation; and the knowledge

that a negotiation was going on, introduced a fear among the insurgents, that their leaders would make terms for themselves, and leave them to shift as they could.

The articles which the insurgents demanded, were drawn up by the Clergy among them: they required a general pardon, the establishment of Courts of Justice at York, to the end that no person north of Trent should be brought to London upon any law-suit,...the repeal of certain acts, the restoration of the Papal authority, of the Princess Mary to her right of succession, and of the suppressed Convents; the removal of Cromwell and of the Chancellor, the punishment of the Lutherans, and also of two of the visitors for bribery and extortion. These demands being rejected, they prepared to enforce them by advancing, and Norfolk represented to the King that some concession ought to be made, for they were greatly superior to him in strength. He was authorized, therefore, to offer a general pardon, and promise that a Parliament should soon be called, in which their demands should be considered. A second rising of the river Don, which again prevented them from crossing it, intimidated them, as an interposition of Providence on the King's behalf; they gladly accepted these terms, and the pardon was signed, on condition that they submitted and returned to their obedi-

ence. A proclamation accompanied the pardon, in which the King justified the measures of his government, and expressed his wonder that they, who were but brutes, should think they could better judge than himself and his whole Council, who should be his counsellors. Just complaints he was ready to hear and satisfy; but he would bear with no such interference. And he required them to revoke the oaths by which they had bound themselves to this rebellion, to swear obedience, to apprehend seditious persons, and remove the Monks, Nuns, and Friars, whom they had re-established. He ordered them also to send Aske and Lord Darcy to Court. The latter was imprisoned; his case, indeed, was different from that of the insurgents. Aske was favourably received; but when an attempt was made to surprise Carlisle, and several partial insurrections broke out, he hastened again to bear part in what he deemed a religious cause; and being made prisoner, was put to death. Lord Darcy was brought to trial, and, in his defence, accused Norfolk of having encouraged the rebels to persist in their demands. The Duke offered to prove his innocence by combat; but Henry gave no ear to the accusation, and Darcy, whose former services were thought to deserve consideration, and whose great age excited compassion, was beheaded. Many suffered by martial law; and

some of the great Abbots were attainted and executed for the part they had taken in abetting the insurrection.

This unsuccessful struggle hastened the dissolution of those Monasteries which had hitherto been spared. It was pretended that, by this measure, the King and his successors would be so greatly enriched, that the people would never again be charged with taxes; and that the revenue thus obtained, would suffice for supporting forty Earls, sixty Barons, three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers, with their captains; for making better provision for the poor, and giving salaries to ministers who should go about and preach the Gospel. The manner in which many Convents were surrendered, shows how weary the members were of their way of life; some gave as a reason, their conviction that the ceremonies to which they were bound were superstitious and useless; others confessed shame and repentance for the frauds which they had practised, and the vices in which they had indulged. But there were some cases in which the neighbourhood petitioned that a religious house might not be suppressed, and the visitors themselves represented it as a blessing to the country. Latimer, with his honest earnestness, entreated that two or three in every shire might be continued, not in Monkery, he said, but as establishments

for learned men, and such as would go about preaching and giving religious instruction to the people, and for the sake of hospitality. The University of Cambridge expressed their desire and hope that the monasteries, which had hitherto been, not merely unprofitable to religion, but even pernicious, might be converted into Colleges for students and preachers.

The King's purpose was, to appropriate 18,000*l.* a year, in Church lands, for the endowment of eighteen new Bishoprics. The proportion would have been iniquitously small; for the yearly revenues of which he thus became possessed, exceeded 130,000*l.*,...but a third part only of what he purposed was performed. The rest of the property was squandered by prodigal grants among his rapacious favourites; by such sales or exchanges as were little less advantageous than grants to the favoured subject; and no trifling part the King gambled away,...setting, sometimes an estate, and sometimes a peal of Church bells upon a cast. The deeds by which lands were conveyed to a religious house, usually concluded with the solemn imprecation of a curse upon those persons who should either withhold or wrest them from the pious uses to which they were consecrated; that curse, the Abbey-lands were believed, and not by the Romanists alone, to carry with them; and it fell heavily upon many

of those who partook most largely in the spoil. The feeling of the people, upon this subject, was a just and natural one. The first religious house which was demolished was that of Christ Church in London, which had been given to the Chancellor Sir Thomas Audley; and when he offered the materials of the priory, church, and steeple, to any who would take them down, no man would accept the offer:...a fact most honourable to the Londoners.

This proper feeling soon yielded to cupidity, aided as that was by indignation at the enormities which the visitors brought to light, and the juggling tricks which were now exposed. The simplest persons perceived what frauds had been practised concerning relics, when more pieces of the true Cross were produced than would have made a whole one; and so many teeth of Saint Apollonia, which were distributed as amulets against tooth-ache, that they filled a tun. The abominable frauds of the Romish Church hastened its downfall now, more than they had promoted its rise. A vial was shown at Hales in Gloucestershire, as containing a portion of our blessed Saviour's blood, which suffered itself to be seen by no person in a state of mortal sin, but became visible when the penitent, by his offerings, had obtained forgiveness. It was now discovered, that this was performed by keeping

blood, which was renewed every week, in a vial, one side of which was thick and opaque, the other transparent, and turning it by a secret hand, as the case required. A trick of the same kind, more skilfully executed, is still annually performed at Naples. There was a Crucifix at Boxley, called the Rood of Grace, which was a favourite object of pilgrimage, because the image moved its head, hands, and feet, rolled its eyes, and made many other gestures, which were represented as miraculous, and believed to be so. The mechanism whereby all this was done was now exposed to the public, and the Bishop of Rochester, after preaching a sermon upon the occasion, broke the rood to pieces in their sight. Henry failed not to take advantage of the temper which such disclosures excited. Shrines and treasures, which it might otherwise have been dangerous to have invaded, were now thought rightfully to be seized, when they had been procured by such gross and palpable impositions. The gold from Becket's shrine alone filled two chests, which were a load for eight strong men. Becket was unsainted, as well as unshrined, by the King, who, taking up the cause of his ancestor, ordered his name to be struck out from the Kalendar, and his bones burnt. Another fraud was then discovered,...for the skull was found with the rest of the skeleton in his grave, though

another had been produced, to work miracles, as his, in the Church.

The Pope had long threatened to issue a Bull of Deposition, but had hitherto delayed it, because of the displeasure which he knew it would occasion in other Sovereign Princes. The manner in which Becket had been uncanonized put an end to this suspension, and the Bull was now fulminated, requiring the King and his accomplices to appear at Rome, and there give an account of their actions, on pain of excommunication and rebellion; otherwise, the Pope deprived him of his Crown, and them of their estates, and both of Christian burial. He interdicted the kingdom; absolved his subjects and their vassals from all oaths and obligations to them; declared him infamous; called upon all Nobles and others in his dominions to take arms against him; and required all Kings, Princes, and military persons, in virtue of the obedience which they owed the Apostolic See, to make war against him, and make slaves of such of his subjects as they could seize. In his letters to the different Potentates, which accompanied the Bull, he called Henry a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, and public murderer; a rebel convicted of high treason against his Lord the Pope,...and he offered his dominions to the King of Scotland, if he would go and take them.

But the throne of England was no longer to be shaken by such thunders. Even the Romish Bishops joined in the declaration which Henry set forth, that Christ had forbidden his Apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings; and that if the Bishop of Rome, or any other bishop, assumed any such power, he was a tyrant and usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ. The prelates, who were most devoted to the Papal cause, deemed it politic for that cause, rather to assent to the King's measures, than to oppose him; nor was there any one at this time who defended all his proceedings, even those which were least defensible, more obsequiously than Gardiner, who of all men was at heart most inimical to the Reformation. This man, of odious memory, is supposed to have been the natural son of a Bishop of Salisbury, who was brother to Edward the Fourth's Queen; by the half-blood he was, therefore, cousin to Henry's mother. His countenance indicated capacity of mind, and strength of character, but it was strongly marked also by craft and implacable severity;...deep dissembler as he was, nature had made his features incapable of dissimulation. The son and biographer of good John Fox has well described him as "a man whose abilities qualified him for any employment,

but who alway, as he grew elder, grew worse: haughty and cruel in bearing those honours which his deserts had won, and in regaining any that he had lost, able to weary any man with submission and humility."

Gardiner understood the King's temper, and knew when it was necessary to yield to him, and by what means, at other seasons, he might be guided. The Reformation had been advancing rapidly. The translation of the Bible, which Tindal began, had been completed by Miles Coverdale; and the whole work having been printed on the Continent, at the cost of Richard Grafton and his friends, was licensed in England under the privy seal, and ordered to be provided in all parish churches, for the use of the parishioners, the price of the book to be borne half by them, and half by the incumbent. Another circumstance, not less favourable to the Reformers, was the birth of Prince Edward; their work they well knew would be undone if Mary should succeed to the throne. The birth of a son, therefore, who would be trained up in their principles, was of the utmost importance, though their joy was abated by the death of Queen Jane in childbed. The writers who supposed that, by blackening the character of Henry, they might injure the Protestant cause, represented her life as having been sacrificed to his desire of issue,

affirming that, upon the alternative of losing wife or child, he commanded that the infant should be saved. The atrocious falsehood is disproved by authentic documents. While Henry continued attached to a wife, his attachment was strong, and he had not lived long enough with Jane Seymour to be weary of her. If, indeed, he ever felt a real affection for any of his wives, it was for her; and it was considered as a proof of his undissembled grief at her loss, that he continued two years a widower.

There are some grounds for believing that Gardiner had, at this time, reconciled himself to the Pope for the part which he had taken in subservience to his master. Henry valued his abilities for business, saw his meanness, and was not aware that he himself was sometimes influenced by the fawning subtlety which he despised. The word heretic carried with it an odious sound; no man was willing to acknowledge the fatal name. The King, particularly, still proud of the title which he had gained by defending the faith, could not bear to be thought an upholder of heresy; and Gardiner represented to him, that nothing could remove that imputation, and establish his reputation for orthodoxy so effectually, as to repress, by timely severity, the opinions of the Sacramentaries... opinions which were gaining ground in England, though

none of the reforming prelates had yet adopted them. An unhappy opportunity was soon afforded this evil counsellor for urging his advice with success.

There was a pupil of the martyr Bilney, John Lambert by name, who, treading faithfully in the steps of his master and friend, found it necessary to leave the kingdom; and, going to Antwerp, where he associated with Frith and Tindal, continued there for some time as chaplain to his countrymen, till, at Sir T. More's instigation, he was seized and brought to England, where he was required to answer, before Archbishop Warham, to five-and-forty articles, any one of which might have placed him at the mercy of his persecutors. The opportune death of Warham, and the change of measures which ensued upon the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, saved him then from the stake; and Lambert, laying aside his priesthood with the intention of marrying, employed himself in teaching Greek and Latin. He held the same opinions as Frith concerning transubstantiation, and hearing a certain Dr. Tailor touch upon that subject in a sermon, went to him after the service in private, and proposed certain questions as to a person from whom he differed concerning that point, but agreed with him in all others. Tailor requested to have his arguments in writing, and Lambert readily complied, sus-

pecting no danger where he had no reason to apprehend any. Without any evil intention, Tailor showed the paper to Dr. Barns, formerly Prior of the Augustines at Cambridge, and, like Lambert himself, one of Bilney's converts. Barns was at that time a zealous believer in the corporal presence, for which reason, when he was a refugee, Tindal had cautioned Frith to be cautious how he promulgated his opinions upon that point, for fear of provoking him. The story is an awful lesson for the intolerant. By the advice of Barns, who dreaded the opprobrium which Frith's opinions might bring upon the Reformation, Tailor laid the paper before Cranmer, as containing heresy. In consequence, Lambert was brought into court; he appealed from the Bishops to the King; and Henry, then under Gardiner's influence, took up the cause with a high hand, convoking all his nobles and prelates, without delay to repair to London, and assist him against the heretics and heresies, upon which he would sit in judgement. The trial, if such it may be called, was held in Westminster-hall, the King's guards being that day clad all in white, and the cloth of state white also. Henry was judge as well as disputant; and when Lambert, having argued, till breath rather than reason failed him, against Cranmer and the other prelates, one after another, submitted himself to the King's mercy,

that King, into whose heart mercy never entered, ordered Cromwell to pass sentence upon him as a heretic; and he was burnt to death, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity.

Cranmer has been hastily charged with acting against his own conscience in this horrible transaction. But Cranmer, at that time, believed the corporal presence, and held also the atrocious opinion, that death by fire was the just and appropriate punishment for heresy. This plainly appeared afterwards, in a case wherein he was deeply criminal. In the present instance Gardiner was the instigator, and Cranmer was more culpable for listening to the first accusation, than for bearing a part in the subsequent proceedings, over which he had no control. He, and the Bishops who acted with him, had offended Henry, by endeavouring to save the property of the religious houses from that utter waste to which they saw it destined. They were willing that he should resume whatever lands had been granted to the suppressed convents by the crown: but they strongly urged that the residue should be devoted to purposes of public utility, conformable to the pious intention with which it had been given to the Church. It was Cranmer's misfortune, that some of the Clergy who co-operated with him, were deficient either in temper or discretion. Many of the inferior preachers were

for hurrying forward to destroy, rather than to reform. The Bible itself gave occasion for evil; presumptuous and ignorant persons no sooner read, than they took upon themselves to expound it:...they interrupted the Church service by thus holding forth; discussed points of Scripture in alehouses and taverns; quarrelled over them, and bandied about the reproachful appellations of papist and heretic. Those insane opinions also were abroad which struck at the root of all authority, civil or ecclesiastical, and of all social order. These circumstances accorded well with Gardiner's views. A proclamation, which had then the force of law, was issued, forbidding all unlicensed persons to preach or teach the Bible, and announcing the King's purpose to extinguish all diversities of opinion by laws, which, in the first draught of this paper, were called terrible; but Henry with his own hand erased the word, and substituted good and just.

The Six Articles, which shortly afterwards were enacted, would have justified the original epithet. By these it was declared, that no substance of bread or wine remained after consecration; that communion in both kinds was not enjoined to all persons; that it was not lawful for priests to marry; that vows of chastity must be observed; that private masses were meet and good, and auricular confession necessary to sal-

vation. To speak, preach, or write, against any of the last five, was made felony without benefit of clergy; but they who offended against the first were to be burnt alive, and not even allowed to save their lives by abjuration. This act was no sooner passed, than Latimer and Shaxton resigned their bishoprics, and were both committed to prison. Cranmer argued against it in the house with great ability, and, by the King's desire, delivered in his reasons in writing, Cromwell telling him, that let him say or do what he would, the King would always take it well at his hands. There appears, indeed, to have been a sincerity in Henry's attachment to Cranmer, which he never felt for any other of his ministers, perhaps because no other ever so entirely deserved his respect. He knew that the Archbishop was privately married to Osiander, the German reformer's niece; and on that account, when he formerly set forth a proclamation against priests' marriages, limited it to such as should marry thereafter, or kept their wives openly. Yielding now to the times, Cranmer deemed it best to send his wife into her own country, till circumstances might become more propitious; and this he had reason to expect, because he knew that the King was in himself inclined to permit the marriage of the Clergy, and had been dissuaded from it by those who represented it as an unpopular and offensive measure.

So many hundred persons were thrown into prison upon the Six Articles, that Henry himself thought it better to grant a general pardon, than to proceed against them all; and this bloody act slept, till his determination to put away Anne of Cleves, and marry Catharine Howard, drew on the fall of Cromwell, whom the Duke of Norfolk, uncle to the bride elect, mortally hated. He was accused of heresy and treason, for acts, some of which were done in pursuance of the King's instruction, and others of such a nature, that had they been really committed, they would have been sufficient proofs of insanity. And he was condemned by bill of attainder, an act for thus depriving the innocent of all means of defence having recently been passed, with the consent of the judges, and with his full assent, if not by his active interference. Cromwell was the first victim to this most iniquitous mode of procedure, and Cranmer was the only man virtuous enough to stand forward in his defence; he wrote to Henry in the fallen minister's behalf, telling him, that he believed no King of England had ever so faithful and so attached a servant, and praying God to send one in his stead, who could and would serve him as well. Nothing could be more dangerous than thus to interfere between Henry and the object of his anger; ... it proved unavailing; but if it excited a momentary displeasure against

Cranmer, it confirmed the King in a just opinion of that Primate's integrity, for he lived, it is said, to repent that he had sacrificed a faithful and able minister, who, towards him at least, was innocent of all offence.

The Six Articles were now enforced with extreme severity; and Henry, as if to show his impartiality while he executed as heretics those reformers who went beyond the limits which he had laid down, put to death as traitors those Romanists who refused to acknowledge his supremacy. Papists and Protestants, coupled together, were drawn upon the same hurdle to Smithfield, the former (according to their own writers) feeling it more intolerable than death, to be thus coupled with heretics, and dying under the hangman's hands in this uncharitable spirit; while the Protestants, amid the flames, were offering up prayers for those by whom they were condemned. Barns was among those who suffered at this time; he died piously, magnanimously, triumphantly; and while he thus expiated the part which he had himself borne in persecution, seems not to have remembered it among the things for which he asked and expected forgiveness. Bonner, whom Cromwell and Cranmer had advanced to be Bishop of London, believing him a friend to the Reformation, as he had pretended to be, displayed his real opinions now,

and gave full scope to his inhuman disposition. He even brought a poor ignorant boy, scarcely fifteen years of age, to trial for heresy; the grand jury threw out the bill; Bonner sent them back again with threats, and compelled them to find it; and the boy, who would have said or done any thing to obtain mercy, was burnt alive by this monster; who has left behind him the most execrable name in English history.

The Romanists had at this time great influence with the King,...not as Papists, (for they dared not avow themselves such, and Bonner's oath of fidelity to the King, against the Pope, is still extant with his signature,) but as believers in transubstantiation. Even the discovery of Katherine Howard's loose life, and her consequent execution, did not weaken their party, as they had feared it would. After that event, the general permission of reading the Scriptures was revoked. Nobles or gentlemen might cause the bible to be read to them, in or about their own houses, quietly. Every merchant, who was a householder, might read it; so also might noble and gentle-women, but no persons under those degrees.

The King's marriage with Katherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, did not stop the persecution. But it was known that she favoured the Reformation, and Gardiner therefore regarded her

as a person who was, if possible, to be removed. The common saying was, that he had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer,...meaning the Queen and Cranmer. Henry was now more easy to be worked on to such wicked purposes; the indulgence of cruelty and tyranny rendering him more cruel and tyrannical as he grew older. But as it would have been dangerous to begin abruptly with these personages, an attempt was made to involve the Queen in a charge of heresy upon the fatal point of the corporal presence; and, upon that charge, Anne Askew, a lady who was admired at Court for her acquirements and talents and beauty, and who was greatly in the Queen's favour, was selected as a victim, in the hope that she might also be made an accuser.

The father of this lady, Sir William Askew, of Kelsay in Lincolnshire, had contracted his eldest daughter to a rich heir, Kyme by name, in the same county. She died before the marriage was completed, and Sir William, unwilling to let slip an alliance which he deemed highly advantageous, compelled her sister Anne to marry him, strongly against her will. Some few years afterwards, her husband turned her out of doors, because, by diligent perusal of the Scriptures, she had become a Protestant: upon which, she sought for a divorce, would on no conditions return to

him again, and resumed her maiden name. A Papist, who laid in wait for her life, and watched her for that purpose, when he bore testimony against her, deposed that she was the devoutest woman he had ever known; for she began to pray always at midnight, and continued for some hours in that exercise. As long as it was possible, she evaded, with a woman's wit, the insnaring questions which were proposed to her. One charge was, how she had said it was written in the Scriptures that God was not in temples made with hands: upon this she referred to the words of St. Stephen and St. Paul; and being asked, how she explained these words, replied, with some scorn, that she would not throw pearls before swine,...acorns were good enough. The Lord Mayor, Sir Martin Bower, demanded of her, if she had said that Priests could not make the body of Christ: "I have read," she replied, "that God made man; but that man can make God, I never yet read, nor, I suppose, ever shall." "Thou foolish woman," said the Lord Mayor, "is it not the Lord's body, after the words of consecration?" She answered, that it was then consecrated or sacramental bread: and he said to her, "if a mouse eat the bread, after the consecration, what shall become of the mouse; what sayest thou, foolish woman?" She desired to know what he said; and, upon his affirming that the mouse

was damned, could not refrain from smiling, and saying, "Alack, poor mouse!" A priest, who was sent to examine her in private, asked, in the same spirit, whether or not, if the host fell, and a beast ate it, the beast received his Maker? She told him, as he had thought proper to ask the question, he might solve it himself; she would not, because he was come to tempt her. Bonner sought to inveigle her, and urged her boldly to disclose the secrets of her heart, promising that no hurt should be done to her for any thing which she might say under his roof. She replied, that she had nothing to disclose; for, thanks to God, her conscience had nothing to burthen it. He observed, that no wise chirurgeon could minister help to a wound, before he had seen it uncovered. To this "unsavoury similitude," as she termed it, Anne Askew replied, that her conscience was clear, and it would be much folly to lay a plaster to the whole skin. When he prest her closely upon the fatal point, her answer was, that she believed as the Scripture taught her.

For this time she was admitted to bail; but this was but the prelude to a dreadful tragedy. Being again apprehended, and brought before the Council, she seems to have perceived that her fate was determined, and to have acted with a temper ready for the worst. When Gardiner called her a parrot, she told him she was ready

to suffer, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow, . . . yea, and gladly. He threatened her with burning. "I have searched all the Scriptures," she replied, "yet could I never find that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death." Upon a subsequent examination, at Guildhall, she answered openly to the deadly question, saying, that what they called their God was a piece of bread. "For proof thereof," said she, "make it when you list, let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good; wherefore I am persuaded that it cannot be God." They then condemned her to the flames. She wrote to the King, and to the Chancellor Wriothesley, requesting him to present her paper, by which, she said, if it were truly conferred with the hard judgement past upon her, his Grace would perceive that she had been weighed in uneven balances. The paper to the King contained these words: "I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your Grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil-doer, here I take Heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency. And, according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all

heresies. And, as concerning the Supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and so much as the Catholic Church of him doth teach: for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end for lack of learning."

Henry's heart was naturally hard, and the age and the circumstances in which he was placed had steeled it against all compassion. Some displeasure, indeed, he manifested shortly afterwards, when the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Antony Knevet, came to solicit pardon for having disobeyed the Chancellor, by refusing to let his gaoler stretch this lady on the rack a second time, after she had endured it once, without accusing any person of partaking her opinions. It was concerning the Ladies of the Court that she was thus put to the torture, in the hope of implicating the Queen; and, when Knevet would do no more, the Chancellor Wriothesley, and Rich, who was a creature of Bonner's, racked her with their own hands, throwing off their gowns that they might perform their devilish office the better. She bore it without uttering cry or groan, though, immediately upon being loosed, she fainted. Henry

readily forgave the Lieutenant, and appeared ill pleased with his Chancellor:—but he suffered his wicked ministers to consummate their crime. A scaffold was erected in front of St. Bartholomew's church, where Wriothesley, the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the King's Council, sate with the Lord Mayor, to witness the execution. Three others were to suffer with her for the same imagined offence; one was a tailor, another a priest, and the third a Nottinghamshire gentleman of the Lascelles family, and of the King's household. The execution was delayed till darkness closed, that it might appear the more dreadful. Anne Askew was brought in a chair, for they had racked her till she was unable to stand; and she was held up against the stake by the chain which fastened her; but her constancy, and cheerful language of encouragement, wrought her companions in martyrdom to the same invincible fortitude and triumphant hope. After a sermon had been preached, the King's pardon was offered to her, if she would recant; refusing even to look upon it, she made answer, that she came not there to deny her Lord! The others, in like manner, refused to purchase their lives at such a price. The reeds were then set on fire: —it was in the month of June;—and at that moment a few drops of rain fell, and a thunder clap was heard, which those in the crowd, who sym-

pathized with the martyrs, felt, as if it were God's own voice, accepting their sacrifice, and receiving their spirits into his everlasting rest.

Though the Popish party could not extort any thing against the Queen in the course of their proceedings; they made it matter of accusation against her that Anne Askew had been her friend, and if she had not been apprized of her danger by a friendly intimation in good time, and, with singular dexterity, known how to avert it, she might probably have fallen a victim. Some remaining tenderness toward her in the King enabled her to recover her influence over him; and perhaps he felt in some degree dependant upon her, when his infirmities were now pressing upon him heavier than his age. The Romanists were not more successful in their attempt at the destruction of Cranmer. They represented to the King, that he and his learned men had so infected the whole realm with his unsound doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable heretics, and England, in consequence, stood in danger of being convulsed by such commotions as had sprung up from the same cause in Germany. They desired, therefore, that he might be committed to the Tower; for, being of the Privy Council, unless he were in durance, no man would dare give evidence against him; but when he should be under arrest, they would be

bold to tell the truth, and quiet their consciences. Henry objected to this course; at length, as if convinced by their representations, he gave them permission to summon the Archbishop before them on the morrow, and commit him, if they found cause.

Such, however, was his inward conviction of Cranmer's worth, that he, who, without remorse, had sent two wives to the scaffold, could not sleep upon this resolution: but a little before midnight, sent privately to Lambeth, and called him from his bed. The Archbishop immediately obeyed this untimely summons, and hastened to Whitehall, where Henry told him what the Council had advised concerning him, and that he had granted their request; "but whether I have done well or no," he added, "what say you, my lord?" Cranmer thanked him for giving him this warning before-hand, and said he was well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, so he might be fairly heard, and not doubting that his Majesty would see him so to be used. Upon this, the King exclaimed, "O Lord God, what fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy may have you at advantage! Do not you know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you, which

else dare not open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not so, my Lord, I have better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you!" It is less to Henry's honour, that in this instance he should have interfered to protect a faithful servant, than it is to his reproach, that, understanding thus perfectly the villainy of such proceedings, he should have availed himself of it in some cases, and permitted it in so many others. He then told the Archbishop, that when he appeared before the Council, he should require of them, as being one of their body, the same favour which they would have themselves, that is, to have his accusers brought before him. If they refused this, and were for committing him forthwith, "then," said he, "appeal you from them, to our person, and give to them this my ring, by which they shall understand, that I have taken your cause from them, into my own hands."

Accordingly Cranmer was summoned by eight o'clock on the following morning; and the Council, as if by that indecency they meant to give him a foretaste of what should follow, kept him standing nearly an hour at the council-chamber-door, among serving-men and lacqueys. This was reported to the King by a friend of the Archbishop's. "Have they served him so?" said Henry; "it is well; I shall talk with them by-

and-by." At length Cranmer was called in, and informed, that, seeing he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole realm with heresy, it was the King's pleasure he should be committed to the Tower, and there examined for his trial. In vain did Cranmer solicit that, before they proceeded to any farther extremity, his accusers might there be confronted with him. The Council acted as Henry had foreseen, and Cranmer then produced the ring. "I am sorry, my Lords," said he, "that you drive me to this exigent, to appeal from you to the King's Majesty, who, by this token, hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof." There was no time for recovering from their astonishment and confusion: they were compelled, without delay, to go before the King, who received them sternly, as they had well deserved. "Ah, my Lords," said he, "I thought I had had a discreet and wise Council, but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury! What make ye of him?—a slave? shutting him out of the Council chamber among serving-men! Would ye be so handled yourselves? I would you should well understand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me, as ever was Prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto

God." He laid his hand upon his heart as he spake, and telling them, that they who loved him would upon that account regard the Archbishop, advised them to put away all malice against him, and made them, in his presence, submit to the forms of reconciliation. And from that time, as long as Henry lived, no man dared whisper against Cranmer.

But though the King used every means to confirm this reconciliation, and for that purpose frequently brought the Archbishop and his enemies together at his own table, he perceived how hollow it was on the part of the Romanists; and giving in this a memorable instance of foresight, he altered the three Cranes sable on a field argent, which were part of Cranmer's paternal arms, into three Pelicans, telling him, these birds should signify unto him, that he ought to be ready, like them, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ: "for," said the King, "you are like to be tasted at length, if you stand to your tackling."

The Romanists would have induced the King to take further measures for counteracting the Reformation, had it not been for the just and sincere respect with which he regarded Cranmer. At this time, the evil of what had been done, was verily more apparent, than the good. Preaching was become much more frequent; but the

preachers, instead of enforcing faith, hope, and charity, the consolations, the duties, and the rewards of Christianity, made the pulpit a place of controversy, filled their sermons with invectives, and contributed to exasperate the spirit of discord which was abroad. The Scriptures themselves were abused by both parties; the vain, the arrogant, and the contentious among the Reformers, studied them less for edification, than to seek for texts which might be uncharitably applied to their opponents; or to find matter for unprofitable and mischievous disputation. Because the Bible was in English, they believed that it was now made level to their capacities, and that in all parts and points, they understood it. And the Romanists in an opposite, and not less reprehensible, temper, took advantage of the abuse to derogate from the Bible itself, treated it with irreligious mockery, and made it matter of burlesque and sport in alehouses, as others, with little less irreverence, were making it matter of contention and anger. These abuses made the King once more prohibit the New Testament, and the books of Wicliffe, Frith, and other reformers.

The fall of the Howard family, and the dislike with which the King was beginning to regard Gardiner, would have been followed by measures favourable to the Reformation, if Henry's life had

been prolonged. A treaty with the King of France was actually on foot, for altering the mass into a communion; their intention was to invite the Emperor to act with them, and Cranmer had been ordered to compose a form of service. But this was broken off by Henry's death. The Papists asserted, that even before his death, he was punished by the Almighty in body and in soul; that on his death-bed, he frequently, in a low and deadly voice, repeated the names of those religioners, who had been put to death for denying his supremacy;...that he called for a Catholic priest, but that those who surrounded him would not permit one to approach; that he died exclaiming "all is lost!" and that when his body was opened, it was found to be a mass of diseased fat, absolutely without blood. The truth is, that when Henry knew himself to be dying, he chose from all his Bishops and Chaplains, to have Cranmer with him at that needful time. He was speechless, but not senseless, when the Archbishop arrived; and being desired to give some token that he put his trust in God, through Jesus Christ, as Cranmer, at that awful hour, exhorted him, he pressed the Archbishop's hand earnestly, and presently expired.

He had revised his will a month before; in which, affirming his belief, that every Christian, who endeavoured to execute in his life-time, as

he could, such good deeds and charitable works as Scripture commandeth, and died in steadfast faith, is ordained by Christ's passion to eternal life; he declared, that he verily trusted, by God's grace, to be one of that number. He expressed repentance for his old and detestable life, and, in full intention of never returning to the like, humbly and heartily bequeathed his soul to Almighty God; and earnestly entreated the blessed Virgin, and all the holy company of Heaven, to pray for him continually while he lived, and at his passing hour, that he might the sooner after his departure obtain that everlasting life, which he both hoped and claimed through Christ's passion. For his body, which, when the soul is departed, would return to the vile matter whereof it was made, were it not, he said, for the crown and dignity which God had called him to, and that he would not be counted an infringer of honest worldly policies and customs, when they be not contrary to God's law, he could be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christians, were it never so vile, for it was but ashes, and to ashes it must return. Nevertheless, because he would be loth in the reputation of the people to injure that dignity whereto he had unworthily been called, he desired it might be laid in the honourable tomb which he had ordered to be prepared, and which was already well onward;

and there he desired that the remains of his true and loving wife, Queen Jane, might also be removed; and a convenient altar set there, honourably prepared with all things requisite for daily masses, there to be said perpetually, while the world should endure. And he enjoined, that a thousand marks should be distributed, partly along the way which his funeral might travel, and part at the place of burial, to the most poor and needy people that might be found, (common beggars as much as might be avoided,) thereby to move them, that they might pray heartily for the remission of his offences, and the health of his soul.

In this temper, Henry VIII. departed, little expecting how odious many of his actions would appear to posterity, and perhaps not reckoning the worst of them among the things of which he repented. It is more remarkable, that so many revolting acts of caprice and cruelty did not deprive him of the affection of his subjects, but that he retained his popularity to the last. This could not have been, had he been the mere monster, which, upon a cursory view of his history, he must needs appear to every young and ingenuous mind. Large allowances are to be made for an age, wherein the frequency of atrocious punishments had hardened the public character, and rendered all men (the very few excepted, who

seem to be so constituted, that no circumstances can corrupt them) unfeeling to a degree, which happily we, in these days, are hardly capable of conceiving. Much must also be allowed for his situation. The person, whose moral nature is not injured by the possession of absolute power, must be even more elevated above his fellow-creatures in wisdom and in virtue, than in authority; and that Henry was, in fact, as absolute as any of the Cæsars, he knew, and none of his subjects would have disputed. If his heart had been open to any compunctious visitings, the ready assent with which the intimation of his will, in its worst purposes, was received by obsequious counsellors and servile parliaments, would have repressed them. Whatever was his pleasure, they pronounced to be just and lawful. When he sent a minister or a wife to the scaffold, with as little compassion as he would have shown in ordering a dog to be drowned, he felt no weight upon his conscience, because the murder was performed with all the legality which could be given it by Acts of Parliament, formalities of law, and courts of justice!

The qualities which endeared him to his subjects were, probably, his lavish liberality, and that affability in his better moods which, in the great, has always the semblance, and frequently something of the reality, of goodness. He never

raised any man to rank and power, who was not worthy of elevation for his attainments and capacity, whatever he might be in other respects. To be in Henry's service, and more especially to be in his confidence, was a sure proof of ability; and thus it was, that though he had some wicked counsellors, he never had a weak one....Wolsey discovered no weakness, till his master's favour encouraged him to aspire at the Papacy, and then indeed ambition blinded him. He was the munificent patron of literature and the arts; and it is to the example which he set, of giving his daughters as well as his son a learned education, that England is indebted for the women and the men of the Elizabethan age.

With regard to the Church of England, its foundations rest upon the rock of Scripture, not upon the character of the King by whom they were laid. This, however, must be affirmed in justice to Henry, that mixed as the motives were which first induced him to disclaim the Pope's authority, in all the subsequent measures he acted sincerely, knowing the importance of the work in which he had engaged, and prosecuting it sedulously and conscientiously, even when most erroneous. That religion should have had so little influence upon his moral conduct will not appear strange, if we consider what the religion was wherein he was trained up;...nor

if we look at the generality of men even now, under circumstances immeasurably more fortunate than those in which he was placed. Undeniable proofs remain of the learning, ability, and diligence, with which he applied himself to the great business of weeding out superstition, and yet preserving what he believed to be the essentials of Christianity untouched. This praise (and it is no light one) is his due: and it is our part to be thankful to that all-ruling Providence, which rendered even his passions and his vices subservient to this important end.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD VI.

EDWARD VI. was little more than nine years of age when he succeeded to the throne. The first six he had been bred up among the women, and afterwards Dr. Cox and Sir John Cheke were appointed his preceptors,...names well known in the history of the Reformation and of literature. Abler tutors could not have been provided; they directed his education to the best objects, and the progress of their pupil corresponded to their desires; for, with his mother's gentleness and suavity of disposition, he inherited his father's capacity and diligence and love of learning. At his coronation, when the three swords, for the three kingdoms, were brought to be carried before him, he observed, that there was one yet wanting, and called for the Bible: "That," said he, "is the sword of the Spirit, and ought in all right to govern us, who use these for the people's safety, by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing; we can do nothing. From that we are

what we are this day;...we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength." Child as he was, so well had he been trained, and so excellent was his moral and intellectual nature, that he was capable of thus thinking and thus expressing himself. One, who was about his person, says of him, "If ye knew the towardness of that young Prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named:...the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable,...and the gentlest thing of all the world." "No pen," says Fuller, "passeth by him without praising him, though none praising him to his full deserts."

His uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was appointed Governor of the King's person and Lord Protector, and forthwith created Duke of Somerset. The Reformation now proceeded without impediment; but plunder and havoc kept pace with it; for, by one of those unnatural leagues, in which men with the purest intentions sometimes find themselves involved, the most religious members of the Church, and the veriest worldlings of the state, went hand in hand: the former, acquiescing in the evil which

they could not prevent, for the sake of bringing about the good at which they aimed; the latter, promoting that good, because they made it subservient to their own selfish and rapacious ends.

Cranmer's disposition, as well as his principles, inclined him to proceed discreetly and with moderation, in the changes which were still necessary. The progress of his own mind had been slow; laying aside no received opinion, till he had thoroughly investigated the point, and ascertained, by painful and deliberate inquiry, that it rested upon no sufficient grounds of Scripture, and that the authority of the better ages was against it. It was not till the last year of King Henry's reign, that he gave up the tenet of transubstantiation. His opinion had been shaken by the arguments and allegations of some persons, who were convented before him for denying it. Frith's book confirmed the impression which had thus been made; and, finally, he became satisfied that the doctrine was as little scriptural as the term. Ridley, by the same course, came to the same conclusion; and Latimer, not long afterward, laid aside, in like manner, the last error of Popery which clung to him. These good men held the due mean, between that bigotry which allows not itself to question the grounds upon which any of its opinions are founded, and the levity which embraces new

doctrines without consideration, and presently casts them off, as inconsiderately as it received them. Had the work of reform been conducted by the State, as temperately as by the Church, it would have been, in all points, without reproach. But the religious and the statistic measures must not be confounded. Reformation was the aim and effect of the former; spoliation, of the latter.

The first ecclesiastical injunctions which were set forth, by the King's command, enjoined that the Clergy should, once a quarter at least, dissuade the people from pilgrimages and image-worship; and that images, which had been abused with pilgrimages and offerings, should be destroyed. All shrines, with their coverings, tables, candlesticks, trindills or rolls of wax, pictures, and other monuments of feigned miracles, were to be taken away and destroyed, so that no memory of them should remain in walls or windows; and the people were to be exhorted to make the like clearance in their houses. Pulpits were to be provided. The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments, were to be recited by the Priest, from the pulpit, on holy-days, when there was no sermon; and no person, who could not recite them, should be admitted to the Sacrament. No person might preach unless he were licensed; and because of

the lack of preachers, the curates were to read homilies, which would be set forth by the King's authority. A register was to be kept in every parish, for marriages, christenings, and burials. The fifth part of every benefice was to be expended on the mansion house or chancel, till both should be in full repair; and for every hundred a year which a Clergyman possessed, in Church preferment, he should give a competent exhibition to a scholar at the University. Holydays were to be kept holy; but it was declared lawful for the people to work upon them in time of harvest, and save that which God hath sent; scrupulosity, on such occasions, being pronounced sinful.

The people, in many places, had begun to demolish images, before these injunctions were issued: not that the majority would willingly have parted with them; but that, when a few zealots began the work of demolition, enough were ready to assist, for the love of havoc, even when there was no hope of plunder. The Reformers held it unlawful to tolerate what they believed was prohibited by the second Commandment. The late King had maintained, against Cranmer, that that prohibition related to the Jews, and not to us: and Gardiner now argued, that pictures and images were as serviceable as books, and that devotional feelings might

as lawfully and effectually be excited through the eye as through the ear. The contrary opinion prevailed, because frauds and superstitions had been so gross and palpable; and thus, as has too frequently happened, the use of what, in itself, might be good, was forbidden, because of the abuses to which it had given occasion.

The very circumstance of Henry's having ordered in his will perpetual masses for his soul, led to an inquiry, whether such masses were not vain and superstitious, and therefore unlawful. The Romanists insisted that all things should be maintained in the state wherein the late King had left them, (he having been not only the most learned Prince in the world, but the most learned divine also)...at least till the present Sovereign should be of age. On the other hand, it was asserted, that at the time of his death he had been preparing to change the Mass into a Communion, and that a matter, wherein the salvation of souls was concerned, ought not to be delayed. The Protestants were now a majority in the Government. An Act was passed, ordering that the Sacrament should be administered in both kinds, conformably to our Saviour's institution, and the custom of the Church for the first five centuries. Private Masses were put down...one of the most lucrative practices of the Romish Church. The same Act appointed discretionary

fine and imprisonment, as the punishment of those who should treat the question of the Sacrament with irreverence, either in sermons or in ribald treatises, with which the press now began to abound, both in prose and rhyme.

There was a great difficulty in finding persons who might safely be licensed to preach: the danger was not from the Papal clergy, but from those headstrong men who thought that all vestiges of Popery ought to be removed, and that the difference between the old and the reformed Church could never be made too wide. Admonition to such people was found useless, and no other means remained of stopping seditious preaching, (for such it had become,) than by forbidding any person whatever to preach, except such as were licensed by the King, the Protector, or the Primate, under their seals...the Bishops themselves being included in this prohibition... But such sermons, addressing the vanity of the hearers, and encouraging their presumption, indisposed them for the homilies. They who had been thus flattered and appealed to, disrelished plain and wholesome instruction;...and sometimes the congregation manifested their dislike, by talking while they were read; sometimes the reader, by gabbling through the homily in such a manner that those who were inclined to listen, could not follow the hurried and contemptuous delivery.

When the new office for the Communion was set forth, the point of confession was left free. Such as desired to make their confession to a priest, were admonished not to censure those who were satisfied with confessing to God, and the latter not to be offended with those who continued in the practice of auricular confession; all being exhorted to keep the rule of charity, follow their own conscience, and not to judge others in things not appointed by Scripture. A Liturgy was prepared, with the same sound judgement which characterized all those measures wherein Cranmer had the lead. It was compiled from the different Romish offices used in this kingdom; whatever was unexceptionable was retained, all that savoured of superstition was discarded; the prayers to the saints were expunged, and all their lying legends; and the people were provided with a Christian ritual in their own tongue. And so judiciously was this done, that while nothing which could offend the feelings of a reasonable Protestant was left, nothing was inserted which should prevent the most conscientious Catholic from joining in the service.

The act which repealed all laws and canons that required the Clergy to live in celibacy, was not less important. Strange as it may appear, nothing in the course of the Reformation gave so much offence to the Papists as the marriage of

the Clergy; they looked upon the first race as perjured by it, and considered it always afterwards as a desecration of the ministers of the altar. There is no topic to which Sir Thomas More, in his controversial writings, reverts so frequently, or treats with so much asperity. The inconveniences which have resulted are, that children are sometimes, upon the father's death, left destitute, often in distressful circumstances; and that, among the higher clergy, wealth which might more fitly be appropriated to pious purposes has sometimes been employed in aggrandizing private families. But the Popes themselves have so frequently made this use of their power, that a word has been formed to denote the propensity: and the former is part of a great and increasing evil, for which effectual remedies would soon be devised, if half as much zeal were exerted in removing the real evils of society, as is mischievously employed in combating imaginary grievances. One generation did not pass away, before it was seen that the Protestant Clergy were not withheld, by their connubial and parental ties, from encountering martyrdom, when conscience required the sacrifice. And in our days, when Protestant missions have first been undertaken upon a great scale, and carried on with perseverance, it has been found that the wives of the Missionaries have contributed their

full share to the success which has been obtained.

Gardiner and Bonner, refusing their consent to these momentous changes, were deprived of their Sees, (the former, after much tergiversation,) and imprisoned, but no rigour was used toward them; nor did the Protestants, in any instance, abuse their triumph by retaliating upon the Papists, for the persecution which they had endured. But hardly had they, as they deemed, secured their triumph, when an unhappy difference arose among them, concerning things in themselves indifferent. Hooper gave occasion to this dispute: having been obliged to fly the kingdom when the Six Articles were enforced, he brought back with him from Switzerland some Calvinistic prejudices; and when he was now appointed to the Bishopric of Gloucester, refused to wear the episcopal habit at his consecration. He is described as a man "of strong body, sound health, pregnant wit, and invincible patience: spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: harsh, rough, and unpleasant in behaviour, being grave with rigour, and severe with surliness." "Yet to speak truth, (says Fuller, the best-natured of historians himself,) all Hooper's ill-nature consisted in other men's little acquaintance with him. Such as visited him once, condemned him of over-austerity; who repaired to him twice,

only suspected him of the same; who conversed with him constantly, not only acquitted him of all morosity, but commended him for sweetness of manners." Dudley, then Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was Hooper's patron, and wrote to Cranmer, requesting that he would bear with him in such reasonable things as he desired, and not charge him with the oath of canonical obedience, which was burdensome to his conscience; and the King, under this influence, discharged Cranmer from any danger of incurring a *Premunire*, by dispensing with the forms to which Hooper objected. But Cranmer knew that a mere letter from the King could be no protection against the law. Ridley, who had been appointed to Bonner's vacant See, was chosen to argue with Hooper, and convince him of the unreasonableness of such scruples; but he had taken up the notion, that whatever is not of faith, is sin; and their conference ended only in heating them both, and producing an ill-will of long continuance. Bucer and Peter Martyr, men who were both deservedly held in high estimation here, were applied to; and they, though agreeing with Hooper, in wishing for the disuse of all such conformities with the Romish Church, saw, nevertheless, how desirable it was that nothing should be done unnecessarily to offend the Catholics, and urged him to compli-

ance. They cautioned him, also, to take heed lest, by unseasonable and bitter sermons, he should prevent the great good which his preaching and teaching would otherwise effect. Instead of deferring to this wholesome advise, he appears to have provoked an order from the Privy Council, commanding him to keep his house; and as, during that restraint, he published his opinions, in a manner which tended to widen the difference, they committed him to Cranmer's custody, either there to be reformed, or further punished, as the case might require. Cranmer's report was, that he could not be brought to conformity, being inclined to prescribe laws, and not to obey them: upon which, he was sent to the Fleet prison. Such measures would have provoked a stubborn heart; Hooper's was a sincere and noble one. Weighing the matter dispassionately, he perceived that he was wrong in his opposition; and having signified this, to the joy of the Protestant Church, abroad as well as at home, he was consecrated, and took possession of his diocese, there to discharge his arduous duties with exemplary zeal, and finally to close a holy and a virtuous life by martyrdom.

The substitution of a table, in place of an altar, is ascribed to Hooper's influence. As a reason for assenting to it, in his diocese, Ridley stated, that as one form was used in some

churches, and the other in others, dissensions were thus occasioned among the unlearned; and therefore, wishing a godly unity to be observed, and because the form of a table might move the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass, he directed that the Lord's Board should be set up in that form, decently covered, in such place of the quire, or chancel, as the Curates, Churchwardens and Questmen, might think best; and all other side-altars or tables to be removed. The people had been taught, by a Church book, called the Festival, which had been set forth in Henry the Seventh's time, and was hardly yet laid aside, that whatever needful and lawful things they might pray for on the day when they heard Mass, God would grant; that idle oaths and sins, which they had forgotten to confess, were on that day forgiven them; they should neither lose their sight, nor die suddenly, on that day; and that the time which they employed in that holy service would not be carried to the sum appointed for their lives. It was most desirable that they should be undeceived from such superstition, and from the opinion that a real sacrifice was performed when the Sacrament was administered; and it might be more difficult to effect this, while altars were considered as rendered sacred by the relics which they contained. And yet the reasons against

such a change ought to have preponderated. An alteration, which was not essential upon the fundamental principles of the Protestant reform, tended to disgust the adherents of the Romish Church, who certainly were still the great majority of the people: it was more needful to conciliate them, than the zealots of the Reformation; and it was more practicable also, for concessions, in such cases, never fail to call forth farther demands. They who abhorred the altar, were likely soon to treat the table with irreverence.

There was also the farther evil, that fresh opportunity was given for sacrilegious pillage. "Private men's halls were now hung with altar-cloths; their tables and beds covered with copes, instead of carpets and coverlets." "It was a sorry house which had not somewhat of this furniture, though it were only a fair large cushion covered with such spoils, to adorn their windows, or make their chairs have something in them of a chair of state." Chalices were used for carousing cups at the tables of the bolder plunderers; and horses were watered in the stone and marble coffins of the dead; for never before, in any Christian country, had such demolition of churches been made. Three episcopal houses, two churches, a chapel, a cloister, and a charnel-house, were pulled down by Somerset, to clear the site for his palace, and supply materials for

it. When the graves were opened, in this and other like works of sacrilegious indecency, many caskets full of indulgences were found, which had been laid in the coffins with the dead. The bones were carried away by cartloads, and buried in Bloomsbury. The good feelings of the country were shocked at such sights; and when he would in like manner have pulled down St. Margaret's Church, the parishioners rose and drove away the workmen.

Somerset, if he had lived in happier times, was a man who might have left an unreproached and honourable name: his manners were affable, his disposition frank and generous. But his memory is deeply stained with the guilt of this execrable spoliation, in which no man partook more largely. He contributed, under cover of the Reformation, to bring into England the abuse of bestowing Church preferment upon laymen; a scandal from which, greatly as it prevailed abroad, this country had been remarkably free. We had had no secular Abbots, who were complained of, in Spain, as the fretting worms of the Monastic orders; but Somerset, even before his nephew succeeded to the throne, had secured to himself a Deanery, the treasurership of a Cathedral, and four of its best Prebends; and charged a Bishopric with the payment of 300*l.* a year to his son. Much of the remaining pro-

perty of the Church was in like manner bestowed upon laymen, to the grievous discouragement of learning. Men, who were not authorized by his orders, were encouraged by his example, to appropriate the spoil of Chapels and Churches, which, if not willingly surrendered to them by the poor Churchwardens, they extorted by threats, or took away by violence. Cranmer procured a letter from the Council, to stop this evil; but such prohibitions were of little avail, when the person of most authority in the Council was known to take for himself all that he could obtain. Nothing for which purchasers could be found escaped the rapacity of these plunderers. Tombs were stripped of their monumental brasses; churches of their lead. Bells, to be cast into cannon, were exported in such quantities, that their farther exportation was forbidden, lest metal for the same use should be wanting at home. Somerset pretended that one bell in a steeple was sufficient for summoning the people to prayers; and the country was thus in danger of losing its best music,...a music, hallowed by all circumstances,...which, according equally with social exultation and with solitary pensiveness, though it falls upon many an unheeding ear, never fails to find some hearts which it exhilarates, and some which it softens.

One of the first acts of Parliament, under the new reign, had been to confer upon the King all Chantries, Free Chapels, and Colleges. Under the former title, lands or houses were bequeathed to particular churches, for maintaining priests, who should daily perform mass for the souls of the founders, and other such persons as were specified in the deed of endowment. There were forty-seven such belonging to St. Paul's. Free Chapels were separate places of worship, erected and endowed for the same purpose. The surplus revenue, after the Priest's salary was discharged, was appropriated to religious uses; either in supporting free-schools, or scholars at the Universities, or in alms. Henry's executors brought in this Act: the Abbey lands had all been wasted; and without some such resource, they found themselves unable to pay his debts; and, what touched them more nearly, ...to satisfy their own pretensions. It was opposed, not only by the Popish Bishops, but by Cranmer. He was for reforming these foundations, but for preserving them till the King should come of age; not doubting, from his excellent disposition, but that he would then apply them to the best purpose,...that of improving the condition of the poor Clergy. For the Reformation, or rather the spoliation which

accompanied it, had miserably impoverished the inferior Clergy, by transferring the impropriated tithes to lay hands. This argument was of no avail; and the Chantry lands went,...as the Abbey lands had gone before them.

They who divided the spoil were not content while any thing remained untouched. Sir Philip Hoby recommended that all the Prebends should be converted to the King's use: and the Protector's brother, the Lord Admiral, a bold, bad man, represented, that Bishops ought not to be troubled with temporal concerns; and that it would be right to make them surrender all their royalties and temporalities to his Majesty, and receive an honest pension of money, yearly allowed to them, for hospitality. But he received for this a memorable rebuke. The King told him, that he knew his purpose: "You have had among you," said he, "the commodities of the Abbeys, which you have consumed,...some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards, and other ungracious rule. And now, you would have the Bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise! Set your hearts at rest: there shall no such alteration be made while I live!"

The merciless destruction with which this violent transfer of property was accompanied, as it remains a lasting and ineffaceable reproach upon those who partook the plunder, or permitted it,

so would it be a stain upon the national character, if men, when they break loose from restraint, were not every where the same. Who can call to mind, without grief and indignation, how many magnificent edifices were overthrown in this undistinguishing havoc!...Malmsbury, Battle, Waltham, Malvern, Lantony, Rivaux, Fountains, Whalley, Kirkstall, and so many others, the noblest works of architecture, and the most venerable monuments of antiquity, each the blessing of the surrounding country, and, collectively, the glory of the land! Glastonbury, which was the most venerable of all, even less for its undoubted age, than for the circumstances connected with its history, and which, in beauty and sublimity of structure, was equalled by few, surpassed by none, was converted, by Somerset, after it had been stript and dilapidated, into a manufactory, where refugee weavers, chiefly French and Walloons, were to set up their trade! He had obtained it from the Crown, by one of those exchanges, which were little less advantageous than a grant. One of the Popes, at King Edgar's desire, had taken this Monastery "into the bosom of the Roman Church, and the protection of the holy Apostles," and denounced a perpetual curse upon any one who should usurp, diminish, or injure, its possessions. The good old historian, William of Malmsbury, when he

recorded this, observed, that the denunciation had always, till his time, been manifestly fulfilled, seeing no person had ever thus trespassed against it, without coming to disgrace by the judgement of God. By pious Protestants, as well as Papists, the Abbey lands were believed to carry with them the curse which their first donors imprecated upon all who should divert them from the purpose whereunto they were consecrated; and in no instance was this opinion more accredited than in that of the Protector Somerset.

The destruction of manuscripts was such, that Bale, who hated the Monasteries, groaned over it as a shame and reproach to the nation. Addressing King Edward upon the subject, he says, "I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the Britons, under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people, under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our times. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities." "As brokers in Long-lane," says Fuller, "when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet, that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries, should in the same grant have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them: and these igno-

rant owners, so long as they might keep a *Lieger-book*, or *Terrier*, by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged to them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments." They were sold to grocers and chandlers; whole ship-loads were sent abroad to the bookbinders, that the vellum or parchment might be cut up in their trade. Covers were torn off for their brass bosses and clasps; and their contents served the ignorant and careless for waste paper. In this manner, English history sustained irreparable losses, and it is more than probable that some of the works of the ancients perished in the indiscriminate and extensive destruction.

The persons into whose hands the Abbey-lands had passed, used their new property as ill as they had acquired it. The tenants were compelled to surrender their writings, by which they held estates, for two or three lives, at an easy rent, payable chiefly in produce; the rents were trebled and quadrupled, and the fines raised even in more enormous proportion,...sometimes even twenty-fold. Nothing of the considerate superintendence which the Monks had exercised,...nothing of their liberal hospitality, was experienced from these *Step-Lords*, as Latimer, in his honest indignation, denominated them. The same spirit which converted Glastonbury into a woollen-manufactory, depopulated whole domains for the purpose of

converting them into sheep farms; the tenants being turned out to beg, or rob, or starve. To such an extent was this inhuman system carried, that a manifest decrease of population appeared in the Muster-books, which in those ages answered, though imperfectly, the purpose of a *census.* The most forward of the Reformers did their duty manfully, in crying aloud against this iniquity; and truths of this nature were never proclaimed more honestly than they were from the pulpit, in the presence of King Edward, and of the very statesmen who were most deeply implicated in the offence.

Such oppressions drove men to despair, and produced insurrections, which, by those who looked far off for causes that lay close at hand, were imputed to the Sun in Cancer, and the Midsummer Moon. The first rising was in Devonshire. It broke out in a village, on the day when the new Liturgy was first to have been used: a tailor and a common labourer declared, for the parishioners, that they would keep the old religion, as their forefathers had done: the Priest, whether willingly or not, performed mass in obedience to their demand; and owing to the indecision of the nearest magistrates, who, when they ought to have restored order by a prompt exertion of authority, parleyed, hesitated, and did nothing, the news ran from one place to another,

and the country was presently in a state of rebellion. The poor simple people, goaded as well as guided by priests of the old religion, who were as bigoted as themselves, and little better informed, put forth their demands in fifteen articles, wherein, so curiously were they misled, not one real grievance was stated. They required, that all the General Councils and Decrees should be observed, and all who gainsayed them be held as heretics; that the Six Articles should be enforced; Mass performed in Latin, as formerly, and no person to communicate with the Priest; the Sacrament to be hung over the high altar, and there worshipped, as in old time, and all who would not consent to this, to be put to death like heretics; the Laity to communicate only at Easter, and then but in one kind; baptism to be administered on week-days as well as holydays; images set up again, and old ceremonies restored; the new service to be suppressed, because it was but like a Christmas game, and the old Latin service resumed,...the Cornish men, they said, utterly refusing to use English, because some of them understood not the English tongue; the souls in Purgatory to be prayed for by every preacher in his sermon; the English bible to be prohibited, and all English books of Scripture, for otherwise the Clergy would not "of long time confound the heretics;" and half the Abbey and Chantry

lands applied to pious purposes. The other demands were, that Cardinal Pole should be pardoned, sent for from Rome, and promoted to be of the King's Council; that two Clergymen, whom they named, should be beneficed, and sent to preach among them; that their leaders, Humphrey Arundel and the Mayor of Bodmin, should have a safe conduct, for the purpose of conferring with the King concerning the special grievances of their part of the country; and that no gentleman should have more than one servant, unless his landed estates enabled him to spend an hundred marks a year; for every hundred, they thought it reasonable he should have a man. They concluded with a protestation of loyalty: "We pray God save King Edward, for we be his, both body and goods."

The gentlemen of the country not being able to make head against the insurgents, Sir John Russell, Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir William Herbert, were sent with a force both of horse and foot, among whom were many foreigners, Burgundian, Italian, and Albanian; these troops having been brought over, because the majority of the nation were attached to the old faith. The King, as his father had done under like circumstances, published an address to the deluded people, reasoning with them upon their propositions, and the grounds of their rebellion. With

regard to baptism, he said, they might reasonably be offended, if by his laws they might not christen their children, when they were disposed, upon necessity, any day or hour in the week; but they were falsely deceived in this, as they might see by looking in the book of the new service. They were deceived, also, concerning that service, which, though represented to them as new, was, indeed, none other but the old, the self-same in English as in Latin, "saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English. The difference is, that we meant you our subjects should understand in our natural country tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man? If the service were good in Latin, it remaineth good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge, what before was spoken with ignorance; and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion; an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance." Touching the Six Articles, he said, "Know ye what ye require? or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented. Too bloody they were to be borne of our people; yet at the first, indeed, made of some necessity. O subjects, how are ye

trapped by evil persons! We, of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now, of ignorance, will ask them again!...Since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how are ye blinded to ask them in blood!" Cranmer also wrote a calm and able answer to the fifteen articles, addressing it to the "ignorant men of Devonshire and Cornwall, who asked (he said) they knew not what." He informed them what the Decrees were which they wished to be observed. He pointed out the inconsistency of objecting to the English service, because some of the Cornish people spoke no English; and demanding, therefore, a Latin service, which none of them understood. And with regard to the sumptuary law which they proposed, he explained its absurdity and its object: its absurdity was, that, under its operation, the gentry, instead of expending their incomes hospitably and to the general good, must, of necessity, lay up in their coffers at least the one half; but the intent was, to diminish their strength, and bring them under the command of the commonalty.

The kingdom was, indeed, at that time, in danger of such a war as had raged in Germany. The landed proprietors had wickedly abused their power; it seemed almost as if they were attempting to bring their tenantry into a state of vassalage, as abject as any that existed on the Continent.

On the other hand, principles, which tended to the overthrow of all order, were proclaimed, and prophecies (the common artifice of the middle ages) circulated in their aid, that soon there should be no King in England; that the Nobles and Gentry should be destroyed; and the Commons, beginning at the South and North Seas, and holding a Parliament in commotion, should elect four Governors to rule the realm. The avowal of such intentions changed the character of the contest: it lay no longer between the adherents of the old religion and of the new; but between men who fought for plunder, and those whose property was at stake. The insurgents laid siege to Exeter; the majority of the citizens were Papists; but the premature boast, that silks and velvets were to be measured by the bow, and horses sent home laden with plate, money, and goods, made them join resolutely in the defence. It was protracted till Lord Russell, by help of the merchants, was enabled to raise and equip a force sufficient for meeting the insurgents; who were finally dispersed, with the loss of some 4000 killed.

Had it not been for the levelling principles which the insurgents proclaimed, this insurrection might most seriously have endangered the Government; for the peasantry had been iniquitously oppressed, discontent prevailed over the

whole country, and the Reformation was odious to the great body of the people, both from their religious persuasions, and from a belief that it was the cause of all the evils to which it had afforded occasion. The King was at war both with Scotland and France; and insurrections in Norfolk and in the North followed close upon that in the West. There was more difficulty in suppressing the former, because some of the townspeople in Norwich admitted the rebels, and took part with them; but they were finally defeated, and punished with sufficient severity. It is to the honour of the Earl of Warwick, of whom little good is recorded, that when the higher orders, who had suffered cruelly during the insurrection, called for farther executions, he resisted their desire of vengeance, and would allow none to be put to death who had accepted the mercy which he promised them in the King's name.

The rise of Warwick, then made Duke of Northumberland, upon the overthrow of the Protector Somerset, produced no change in the system of government concerning religion. That was a subject upon which Northumberland neither thought nor cared. He encouraged a set of profligate followers of the Court to scoff at religion, and made sacred things the object of their buffoonery; and he appropriated to himself or his favourites, what had hitherto escaped plunder,

without any of the forms which Somerset, and even Henry, had thought necessary. Cranmer and Ridley incurred his displeasure for resisting this; even their remonstrances, which were delivered always mildly and discreetly, as well as faithfully, could not be borne without resentment; much less, the bitter and indignant language of Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and John Knox, who was then exercising in England those talents by which he afterwards violently overthrew the Romish establishment in his own country.

If the conduct of those statesmen, who made use of the Reformation to aggrandize themselves, excited grief in all who sincerely desired the advancement of religion; the discretion with which Cranmer and his colleagues proceeded, in all their measures, obtained the full approbation of the foreign Protestants. Calvin himself, in accord with Bullinger, and those other divines by whom the Reformed Churches were governed, devised a plan for bringing those Churches to a conformity with that of England; restoring Episcopacy for that purpose, and uniting them in one body, under the King of England as their Defender. It has been asserted, that, in consequence of the alarm which the Papal Court conceived at this project, emissaries were sent, by its agents at the Council of Trent, to England, for the purpose of propagating the wildest and most dan-

gerous opinions, thus to divide the Church of England, and bring disgrace upon it: and that the actors in this stratagem might play their part in safety, two Catholic Bishops, of whom Gardiner was one, were apprized of the scheme, that they might protect them in case of need. Similar stratagems have often been supposed, and strong evidence sometimes adduced to prove that they have actually been practised; yet in most cases they may reasonably be doubted, because in every case they have been unnecessary; nor was the Roman Court so inexpert, or so little acquainted with human nature, that it should exert itself to bring about, by politic arts, what rashness and enthusiasm would too certainly do without its interference.

The inhuman execution of many Dutch and German Anabaptists, in the preceding reign, seems to have deterred others from following them. But opinions of the same character, and of home growth, were disseminated in discourse, and even by the press, such as that the elect had a right to take whatever their necessities required; and that though the outward man might sin, the inward remained impeccable. Several persons recanted these doctrines, and bore faggots, . . . for no voice had yet been raised against the atrocious persuasion, that death was the just punishment for heresy, and burning the appro-

priate mode of execution. There were some also who abjured Arian and Socinian opinions; but for the former, a Dutchman suffered at the stake. There was one more remarkable victim during this reign, Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman, of good education, and therefore of good birth, and of respectable rank in life, for she had frequented the Court, and had been intimate with Anne Ascue. In an evil hour was she accused of maintaining a fantastic and long-forgotten notion concerning our Saviour, that, though born of the Virgin, he partook of humanity only in appearance, having but an apparent, and not a real, body. And for this she was condemned to die! "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance!" said the undaunted woman, to those who sate in judgement on her. "Not long ago you burnt Anne Ascue for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine, for which you burnt her! And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, . . . and in the end you will come to believe this also, when ye have read the Scriptures, and understand them!" This was a speech which, notwithstanding the error it contained, ought to have stricken Cranmer with compunction. When it was found that no reasoning could shake her confidence in this groundless opinion, the Council called upon Cranmer to obtain a warrant for her

execution. It is the saddest passage in Cranmer's life; ... the only one for which no palliation can be offered ... for if he had not assented to it, and even constrained the young King to sign the fatal order, this crime might have been averted. There is not a more painful and humiliating circumstance in our history. Edward had been blessed with a tender heart, and the tendency of his education had been to cultivate the best feelings, and strengthen them by the purest principles. This act, which he was called upon to sanction by his warrant, appeared, to his uncorrupted judgement, in its true light; and it was not without remonstrance and tears that, in deference to Cranmer's character and station, he signed the warrant, telling him he must answer for it before God! Edward had not then completed his fourteenth year, and yet so much did he excel the best and wisest of his counsellors in the wisdom of the heart.

There is another beautiful anecdote of this excellent Prince, who, of all men that history has recorded, seems, in moral feeling, to have advanced the farthest beyond his age. Ridley had preached before him, and with that faithfulness which his preachers were encouraged to use, dwelt upon the pitiable condition of the poor, and the duty of those who were in authority to provide effectual means for their relief. As soon

as the service was over, the King sent him a message, desiring him not to depart till he had spoken with him: and calling for him into a gallery where no other person was present, made him there sit down, and be covered, and gave him hearty thanks for his sermon and his exhortation concerning the poor. "My Lord," said he, "ye willed such as are in authority to be careful thereof, and to devise some good order for their relief; wherein I think you mean me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answer unto God for my negligence, if I should not be careful therein." Declaring then that he was before all things most willing to travail that way, he asked Ridley to direct him as to what measures might best be taken. Ridley, though well acquainted with the King's virtuous disposition, was nevertheless surprised, as well as affected, by the earnestness and sincere desire of doing his duty, which he now expressed. He advised him to direct letters to the Lord Mayor, requiring him, with such assistants as he should think meet, to consult upon the matter. Edward would not let him depart till the letter was written, and then charged him to deliver it himself, and signify his special request and express commandment, that no time might be lost in proposing what was convenient, and apprizing him of their proceedings. The work was zea-

lously undertaken, Ridley himself engaging in it; and the result was, that, by their advice, he founded Christ's Hospital, for the education of poor children; St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's, for the relief of the sick; and Bridewell, for the correction and amendment of the vagabond and lewd; provision also being made, that the decayed housekeeper should receive weekly parochial relief. The King endowed these hospitals, and moreover granted a license, that they might take in mortmain lands, to the yearly value of 4000 marks, fixing that sum himself, and inserting it with his own hand when he signed the patent, at a time when he had scarcely strength to guide the pen. "Lord God," said he, "I yield thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast given me life thus long, to finish this work to the glory of thy name!" That innocent and most exemplary life was drawing rapidly to its close, and in a few days he rendered up his spirit to his Creator, praying God to defend the realm from Papistry.

CHAPTER XIV.

QUEEN MARY. THE PERSECUTION.

An attempt was made, by authority of King Edward's will, to set aside both his sisters from the succession, and raise Lady Jane Grey to the throne, who had lately been married to one of Northumberland's sons. This was Northumberland's doing; he was actuated by ambition, and the other members of the Government assented to it, believing, like the late young King, that it was necessary for the preservation of the Protestant faith. Cranmer opposed the measure, but yielded when the dying Edward told him he hoped he alone would not stand out, and be more repugnant to his will than all the rest of the Council were. Henry VIII. had been so accustomed to have laws enacted at his pleasure, that he seems at last to have considered his pleasure equivalent to law; and had accordingly disposed of the succession at different times, and finally by his last testament. His conduct served as a precedent for his son. But the principles of succession were in fact well ascertained at that

time, and, what was of more consequence, they were established in public opinion. Nor could the intended change be supported on the ground of religion, for popular feeling was decidedly against the Reformation. Queen Mary obtained possession of her rightful throne without the loss of a single life, so completely did the nation acknowledge her claim; and an after insurrection, rashly planned, and worse conducted, served only to hasten the destruction of the Lady Jane and her husband. Their tragedy may well be omitted here, as belonging rather to civil than ecclesiastical history,....which, during this for ever execrable reign, has too many of its own. Yet of the Lady Jane it may be said, that, being in all respects worthy of an earthly crown, it almost seems as if she had been summoned in mercy to a heavenly one, lest the world should stain a spirit, which no circumstances could render more fit for heaven.

The Suffolk men were the first who had declared for Queen Mary; the Protestant faith had taken root among them, and they obtained a promise from her, that no alteration should be made in the religion which her brother had established. But if any person may be excused for hating the Reformation, it was Mary. She regarded it as having arisen in this country from her mother's wrongs, as having aggravated those wrongs, and

enabled the King to complete an iniquitous and cruel divorce. It had exposed her to inconvenience, and even danger, under her father's reign, to vexation and restraint under her brother; and after having been bastardized in consequence of it, and again restored to her rights, when she ought to have succeeded peaceably to the throne, an attempt had been made to deprive her of the inheritance, because she continued to profess the Roman Catholic faith. Her understanding was good, and had been cultivated most carefully: she was a religious woman, according to the faith which she had imbibed; she had inherited something of her mother's constitutional melancholy, something of her father's immitigable disposition; and as the circumstances of her life hitherto had tended to foster the former propensity, those in which she now found herself were not likely to correct the latter. Had the religion of the country been settled, she might have proved a good and beneficent, as well as conscientious, queen. But she delivered her conscience to the direction of cruel men; and believing it her duty to act up to the worst principles of a persecuting Church, boasted that she was a virgin sent by God to ride and tame the people of England.

Had there been any moderation in her councils, the object of restoring Popery might have been accomplished;... it was even called for by

the general voice, so indignant was the nation at the havoc which had been committed, and now so sensible of the mischief which had been done. The people did not wait till the laws of King Edward were repealed; the Romish doctrines were preached, and in some places the Romish Clergy took possession of the churches, turned out the incumbents, and performed mass in jubilant anticipation of their approaching triumph. What course the new Queen would pursue had never been doubtful; and as one of her first acts had been to make Gardiner Chancellor, it was evident that a fiery persecution was at hand. Many who were obnoxious withdrew in time, some into Scotland, and more into Switzerland, and the Protestant parts of Germany. Cranmer advised others to fly; but when his friends entreated him to preserve himself by the like precaution, he replied, that it was not fitting for him to desert his post. So constant, indeed, were those Protestant Clergy who remained, with the determination of bearing their testimony to the last, that when Wyatt, in his insurrection, sent to the Marshalsea prison, to set the gates open, and ask these Confessors to join him, and assist him with their counsel, their answer was, that they had been committed there by order, and would not leave the prison, unless they were in like manner discharged. Some outrages were

committed by insensate zealots; a dagger was thrown at one priest, a shot fired at another. And an attempt was made to perform a miracle, after the Romish manner, by delivering speeches against the Queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain, and the restoration of Popery, ... as if they had been uttered by a spirit in the wall. It was easily detected, and the girl, who had played the invisible angel, was brought upon a scaffold at St. Paul's Cross, and made to confess the imposture. But the conduct of the Protestants, as a body, was worthy of their cause.

The Queen at first inhibited all preaching or printing upon religious subjects; she could not, she said, hide that religion which God and the world knew she had ever from her infancy professed, and she much desired and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced. Yet, of her most gracious disposition and clemency, she intended not to compel any of them thereunto, until such time as farther order, by common consent, might be taken therein; and she commanded them, meantime, to live together in Christian charity, and abstain from the new-found devilish terms of Papist or Heretic, and such like. In the same deceitful spirit, Cardinal Pole, when he arrived as Legate, protested that his commission was not to prejudice any person, for he came to reconcile,

and not to condemn; not to compel, but to call again: he came not to call in question any thing already done, but his commission was of grace and clemency to all such as would receive it; "for, touching all matters past and done, they should be cast into the sea of forgetfulness." The fears of that class of men, whose opposition was most to be dreaded, because it proceeded from worldly motives, were indeed quieted by a Bull, which allowed the holders of abbey lands to retain their ill-gotten possessions. And it should not be forgotten, in honour to this Queen, of whom so much evil is recorded, that she voluntarily restored to the Church all such lands as had been vested in the Crown, and had not yet been squandered.

The Protestant Bishops were soon dispossessed of their sees; the marriages which the Clergy and Religioners had contracted, were declared unlawful, and their children bastardized. The heads of the reformed Clergy, having been brought forth to hold disputations for the purpose rather of intimidating than of convincing them, had been committed to different prisons, and after these preparatories the fiery process began. John Rogers, the protomartyr in the Marian persecution, and at that time a Prebendary of St. Paul's, had formerly been Chaplain to the English merchants at Antwerp, and had there been a fellow-

labourer with Tindal and Coverdale, in the great work of translating the Bible. He had a large family, and having married a German woman, might have found means to support them in her country; but deeming it the duty of himself and his brethren, he said, to stand like true soldiers by the Captain of their salvation, and not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle ... he chose to abide the worst; and, in his last sermon at St. Paul's Cross, exhorted the people to remain in such true doctrine as had been taught in King Edward's day, and to beware of all pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition. After long imprisonment and several examinations, he was condemned, for maintaining that the Church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, and for denying transubstantiation. The sentence being passed, he requested that his poor wife, being a foreigner, might come and speak with him as long as he lived; "for she hath ten children," said he, "that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what were best for her to do." But Gardiner, with his characteristic brutality, refused this, affirming that she was not his wife. And when, on the day of his execution, he asked Bonner, that he might speak to her, a few words only, before his burning, that monster would not permit it. She met him,

however, with her ten children, one hanging on the breast, as he went to Smithfield. That sight did not abate the cheerfulness of his courage; a pardon was offered him at the stake, if he would recant; he steadily refused it, and washing his hands in the flames as they blazed about him, took his death with so calm and resolute a patience, that many who were present blessed God for the support which had been vouchsafed him, and derived strength from his example.

The second martyr, Laurence Saunders, had been educated first at Eton, afterwards at King's College; but when he had continued at Cambridge three years, his mother, who was left a widow in good circumstances, meaning "to set him up wealthily," (and perceiving, perhaps, how dangerous the path of letters had become,) called him from his studies, and apprenticed him to Sir William Chester, who happened to be Sheriff of London at the time of his martyrdom. Sir William was a good and liberal man, and perceiving that the youth was made unhappy by his change of life, gave up his indentures, and prevailed upon the mother to let him return to his beloved pursuits. In Edward's reign, he married, and obtained preferment; now, when the persecution began, he was soon selected as a victim, and brought before Bonner, who had replaced Ridley in the See of London. Bonner

desired him to write his opinion concerning transubstantiation: he obeyed without hesitation, saying, as he delivered the writing, "My Lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God, that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath bloodsucking, and become a better man." When he spoke of his conscience, Bonner exclaimed, "A goodly conscience truly: it would make our Queen a bastard, would it not, I pray you?" Saunders replied, "We go about no such matter. Let them care for that, whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the authors." For Bonner had, in Henry's reign, written and printed a book, wherein he declared the marriage with Catharine unlawful, and the Princess Mary illegitimate. This retort touched him, and he immediately said, "Carry away this frenzy fool to prison!"

While Saunders lived in expectation of being thus apprehended, he was disquieted, and he said, to a friend who observed this, "In very deed, I am in prison till I be in prison." Having been seized, he knew that the die was cast for death: from that moment, all perturbation ceased; and, by a curious effect of the mind upon the body, the emotion which he felt during his first examination was rendered purely pleasurable: he described it, to a fellow-prisoner, as a sense of re-

freshment issuing from every part and member towards the heart, and from thence ebbing and flowing to and fro; and he believed it to be, "a certain taste of the Communion of Saints, wonderfully comforting him, not only in spirit, but in body also." He charged his wife, that she should make no suit for him, and assured her of his cheerful constancy, thanks to his God and his Christ, "in whom, and through whom, I shall, (said he,) I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me and all the true soldiers of Christ!" "Thank you know whom, (he continued,) for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is, indeed, the greatest friendship."

The keeper of the Marshalsea prison had been ordered to let no person visit him. His wife, therefore, when she came to the prison-gate, with her infant in her arms, was refused admittance; but the keeper, with more humanity than was usual in men of his vocation, carried the infant to his father. They who were present admired the child; upon which Saunders exclaimed, "What man, fearing God, would not rather lose this present life, rather than, by prolonging it,

adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy!" This burst of feeling may explain, why it was that, during this persecution, the married Clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage, against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors; the honour of their wives and children was at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name and a virtuous example, combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it.

When Saunders had been kept fifteen months in prison, (for he had been committed at the commencement of this bloody reign,) he was brought before the Council, where Gardiner told him, it was now thought good that mercy should be shown to such as would seek it. "We have fallen in manner all," said he, "but now we be risen again, and returned to the Catholic Church; you must rise with us, and come home unto it. Leave off your painting and pride of speech; for such is the fashion of you all, to please your-

selves in your glorious words. Answer,...yea or nay!" "My Lord," replied the martyr, "it is no time for me to paint; and as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning, I confess to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none. But it standeth me to answer circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils are like to fall upon me, the losing of a good conscience, or of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

"Conscience!" replied Gardiner, "you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy; dividing yourselves, by singularity, from the Church." Upon this, Saunders made answer, "The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. But for dividing myself from the Church, I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up, since I was fourteen years old; being taught, that the power of the Bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received, even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the Catholic Church and public authority." Bonner then interfered, saying, "I have his hand against the blessed Sacrament. How say you to that?" He replied, "What I have written, I have written; and further I will not accuse myself.

But I beseech your honours, to be means to the Queen's Majesty, for such a pardon for us, that we may live, and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, for myself, I must say, that, by God's grace, I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me." "Ah, sirrah," cried Gardiner, "you would live as you list! The Donatists desired to live in singularity, but they were not meet to live on earth: no more be you; and that shall you understand within these seven days;...therefore away with him!"

Being thus assured of speedy death, he wrote to his wife, saying, he was shortly to be despatched to Christ, and desiring her to send him a shirt, "which (said he,) you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance! He will do so, and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, and hell, can do against me. O wife, always remember the Lord...God bless you! Yea, He will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto Him, and He will give thee all things." The crimes of those miserable days called forth virtues equal to the occasion. A wife, who prepared the garment in which her husband was to suffer at the stake,

must indeed have been a true helpmate, and one who possessed a heart which could feel and understand how much his fortitude would be confirmed and comforted by a reliance upon hers.

This excellent martyr was sent to Coventry for execution, because he had held preferment in the cathedral of that diocese; and because the Queen's counsellors, as impolitic as they were inhuman, thought to strike terror throughout the kingdom, by exhibiting every where these terrible examples. With this view Hooper was ordered to Gloucester, there to suffer on the day after Saunders had borne his testimony in the flames. Hooper, when Bishop of that See, had held Worcester *in commendam*. Promotion had wrought no change in this austere and conscientious prelate, "who, being bishop of two dioceses," says Fox, "so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had no charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, no husbandman in his vineyard, was more employed than he in his diocese among his flock, going about the towns and villages, teaching and preaching to the people there." His custom had been, every day to entertain a certain number of the poor in his common hall: he or his chaplain examined them first in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the articles of their belief; "they

were then served by four at a mess with whole and wholesome meats;" and it was not till after they were served that he himself sat down to dinner.

Hooper had looked on to martyrdom as the probable termination of his course. When, upon the tidings of Edward's accession, he left his asylum at Zurich, Bullinger, who had been his singular friend in that hospitable city, requested that he would correspond with him. He promised this; but, taking him earnestly by the hand, added, "the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for there, where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burnt to ashes." His friends urged him to fly while he could yet escape; but he, judging, and rightly, that his life would profit more in its sacrifice than by its preservation, replied, "Once I did flee, and take unto my feet; but now, being called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep." He was soon arrested and brought to London, and Gardiner's first question to him was, whether he was married? "Yea, my lord," answered Hooper, "and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me." Tonstall, contrary to his usual benign nature, treated him with indignity upon this point, and called him beast; and, saying that this was matter enough to deprive him,

asked him the more deadly question concerning the Sacrament, to which he answered explicitly, without hesitation. He was then committed to close prison in the Fleet, and there treated with such inhumanity, that the disease, which ill usage, a damp prison, and foul air produced, had nearly prevented the purpose of his enemies. The names of those persons who relieved him there with alms, were taken by the jailer to Gardiner, to bring on their ruin.

Hooper and Rogers were sometimes brought up together for examination; and as they passed through the streets the people crowded round them, so that the Sheriff had some difficulty to make way through the press. The persons whom Gardiner and his colleagues had selected to be their first victims, were all men whose integrity and holiness of life commanded respect even from those who differed with them in judgement; their preaching, however popular, had never at any time been so efficacious as their example now; many, therefore, in the crowd avowedly rejoiced at their constancy. And when they were conducted back after night had closed, the officers were sent before to put out the costermonger's candles (London had no lamps then), that they might pass unseen, and thus avoid these demonstrations of good will. But the people expected their coming, and many came

out of their doors with lights, to salute and encourage them, and pray God that he would strengthen them to the end. The Romanists continually spread reports that some of their most distinguished prisoners had acknowledged their errors and abjured them. They did this to abate the constancy of others, knowing what consolation and what fortitude each of these Confessors derived from the sympathy and example of his brethren. The prisoners, however, found means of communicating even when at a distance; and Hooper, who had not been reconciled to Ridley since the dispute concerning the habits at his consecration, wrote to him now, prisoner to prisoner, as his dear brother and reverend fellow-elder in Christ. Ridley replied in the same Christian temper: "For as much," said he, "as we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days,...howsoever in times past, by certain bye-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment...now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, I love you in the Truth, and for the Truth's sake which abideth in us, and I am per-

suaded shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore."

But the report of Hooper's recantation was spread so confidently, that many of the Protestants believed it, . . . the more readily, because Bonner and his Chaplains came to him sometimes, endeavouring to win him over. As soon as he understood this report, he wrote a letter, addressed to all that unfeignedly looked for the coming of our Saviour, lamenting in this, that his dear brethren, who have not yet, said he, felt such dangers for God's truth as we have, and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire, should lightly believe that he, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should, after sentence of death, being then in Newgate prison, and looking daily for execution, recant and abjure that which theretofore he had preached. Had he refused to talk with the Bishop of London and his Chaplains, they might have just occasion, he said, to say he was unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else that he was proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore he always spoke with them when they came, not fearing their arguments, but being more confirmed in the truths which he had preached. He prayed, therefore, that the weak brethren might be certified of the truth, and not trouble him with such reports.

"For I have hitherto," said he, "left all things of this world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment; and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours. We have enow of such as know not God truly; but the false report of weak brethren is a double cross...I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen, heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood."

Two days after this noble letter was written, the ceremony of degrading was performed upon him and Rogers together. Rogers was led to execution; and Hooper, on the following morning, sent, in custody of six of the Queen's guards, to Gloucester, there to suffer. He rejoiced at this, "praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm, with his death, the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but that the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory." Sir Anthony Kingston, one of his personal friends, was one of the persons appointed, by the Queen's letters, to see execution done upon him. This Knight, as soon as he saw him, burst into tears, and would have persuaded him to preserve his life by submitting to the ruling powers. The Bishop meekly answered,

"I am come hither to suffer death, because I will not gainsay the truth, that I have heretofore taught amongst you; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter and life is sweet; but I have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of His word; desiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers." Sir Anthony then perceiving, as he said, there was no remedy, took leave of him, thanking God that he had ever known Hooper, who had reclaimed him from a vicious and adulterous course of life. Hooper was moved to tears at his departure, and declared, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

When he was delivered by the guards into the Sheriff's custody, the Mayor and Aldermen saluted him respectfully, and took him by the hand. The Bishop thanked them for thus acknowledging their old friendship toward one who was now a prisoner and condemned man; and requested, as the only favour, that there might be a quick fire, shortly to make an end. The Sheriffs would have lodged him, for that night, in the common gaol, if the guards had not interceded, saying, how

mildly and patiently he had behaved on the way, ...that a child might keep him,...and that they themselves, though now discharged of their commission, would rather watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. He was lodged, therefore, in a private house; and, retiring early to bed, rose, after one sound sleep, and bestowed the rest of the time in prayer, requesting that he might be left alone till the hour of execution. When he saw a company of men with bills and other weapons, to guard the place of suffering, he observed to the Sheriffs, that there had been no need of them, saying, "If ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you." It was a market-day, and about seven thousand persons were assembled. The sight of the multitude made him say to those who were near him, "Peradventure they think to hear something from me, as they have in times past; but alas, speech is prohibited me! Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God. Because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

"So he went forward," says Fox, "led between the two Sheriffs, (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter,) in a gown of his host's, his

hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal; for the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt." He had been ordered not to speak; "but beholding the people all the way which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes toward Heaven, and look cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present." The stake had been made ready near a great elm tree, in front of the Cathedral where he was wont to preach. "The place round about, the houses, and the boughs of the tree, were replenished with people, and in the chamber over the College-gate stood the Priests of the College." While he was on his knees in prayer, a box containing his pardon was brought and laid before him; at the sight whereof, he twice exclaimed, "If you love my soul, away with it!" Lord Chandos, who presided at this abominable execution, was so jealous of the effect which whatever came from Hooper's lips might produce upon the people, that he ordered those persons to a distance who were intently hearkening to his prayer; not, however, till they had heard a few sentences, and among them these words: "Well knowest Thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this

thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against Thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please Thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me; the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch could, (being thereto called,) I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest Thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as, without thy strength, none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with Thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

In full reliance upon the support for which he prayed, when they fastened his neck and legs, as well as his body, by hoops of iron to the stake, he assured them, that trouble was needless, for God, he doubted not, would give him strength to abide the extremity of the fire without bands. He would fain not have taken off his doublet and hose, but the Sheriffs required them; such, says the Martyrologist, was their greediness!...so that he remained in his shirt; and being a tall man, and raised on a high stool, he was seen by all the people; and in the sight of that great multitude, among whom few hearts remained unmoved, and

fewer eyes, he, as he had prayed that he might do, patiently endured what was indeed the extremity of the fire ;...for, through all the Marian persecution, there was no other so lingering a martyrdom. But the voice with which he called upon his Redeemer, was not as the voice of one impatient, or overcome with pain: he remained calm and still to the last, without a struggle; and at length, in the words of the faithful old narrator, died as quietly as a child in his bed.

On the same day that Hooper suffered martyrdom, Dr. Rowland Taylor in like manner bore his testimony to the same cause, at Hadley in Suffolk. When the living of that town was given him, he was one of Cranmer's household; but going immediately to reside there, he forwarded the work which had been begun by Bilney's preaching, and brought over a manufacturing population to a proper sense of religion, and to that consequent state of morals and manners, which nothing but religion can produce. It had been his practice to visit the sick, the poor, and the needy, to comfort them, relieve them, and instruct them; and he called regularly upon the rich clothiers, to go with him to the alms-houses, and see that every thing was duly provided there; his exhortations and example making them contribute their proper part to these works of charity. Some zealous Romanists, with a few armed fol-

lowers, brought a neighbouring Priest, and took forcible possession of his church, when the old religion was restored. Taylor, as the shepherd appointed to feed that flock, ordered these Popish wolves, as he called them, to depart: upon which they turned him out of the church, closed the doors to exclude the people, who were zealous in their minister's behalf, performed Mass, and then lodged a complaint against him; upon which he was summoned before Gardiner. When his friends importuned him to escape, and reminded him, that Christ had enjoined his disciples, when they were persecuted in one city, to flee into another, he replied, "I am old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you! I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands; but rather imprisonment and cruel death. Yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist them. God will hereafter raise up teachers to his people, who will with more diligence and fruit teach them than I have done: He will not forsake his Church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without just cause. As for me, I shall never be able to do so good service, nor have so

glorious a calling, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as at this present. Wherefore, I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength, and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

Accordingly, in obedience to the summons, he set out for London, accompanied by a faithful servant, named John Hull, who, on the way, entreated him to fly, offering to follow him anywhere, and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him. But his determination had been made. "O, John," he said, "remember the good shepherd, Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for it. Him must I follow; and, with God's grace, will do. Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose." When he presented himself before Gardiner, that persecutor, with his usual brutality, called him knave, traitor, and heretic, and exclaimed, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?" "Yes," quoth Taylor, "ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, . . . and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God,

the Lord of us all? How dare ye, for shame, look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgement-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath, made first unto that blessed King Henry VIII., of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed King Edward, his son?" The Bishop answered, that was Herod's oath, he had done well in breaking it, and the Pope had discharged him of it; and when the brave Protestant told him, no man could assoil him from it, and that Christ would require it at his hands, Gardiner told him, he was an arrogant knave and a very fool. "My Lord, (he replied,) leave your unseemly railing! for I am a Christian man; and you know, he that sayeth to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council; but he that sayeth, Thou Fool, is in danger of hell-fire." Presently Gardiner said to him, "Thou art married." He replied, "I thank God I am, and have had nine children." And when he was charged with having opposed the Priest who said Mass in his Church, he answered, "My Lord, I am Parson of Hadley, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the Popish idolatrous Mass."

He was then ordered to the King's Bench, there to be straightly kept. At this time, so many of the best and ablest men in England were committed for the same cause, " that almost all the prisons (says Fox) were become right Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts than to come to the prisons, to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations." He found, in the King's Bench, an excellent fellow-prisoner, John Bradford, destined to the same fate, and prepared, with the same courage, to embrace it. Each looked upon the company of the other as an especial mercy provided for him. Taylor was summoned first, but not till he had lain nearly two years in prison. When the mockery of degrading him was performed, Bonner, who officiated, was about to strike him on the breast with the crozier, as part of the ceremony; but one of the Chaplains, marking Taylor's countenance, called out to the Bishop not to strike, for he would strike again. " Yea, by St. Peter, will I!" quoth Taylor; " the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my master's quarrel."... " By my troth," said he, laughing and rubbing his hands, when he related this to Bradford, " I made him believe I would do so!"

During this persecution, prisoners were treated much more humanely in the King's, than in the Bishops' prisons; for the keepers of the latter thought to recommend themselves by a display of zeal, in the rigour with which they treated those who were committed to their charge. The night after his degradation, by the gaoler's favour, his wife, with one of his sons, and the faithful John Hull, were permitted to sup with him. In exhorting the boy to a virtuous life, he bade him remember, that his father died in the defence of holy marriage. He charged his wife, who, he said, had been a faithful yoke-fellow to him, and would now soon be discharged of that wedlock-bond, to marry again, as soon as God should provide her an honest and religious man, who would be a merciful father to her poor children. For herself and them, this, he said, was the only course that could bring them out of troubles; and he bequeathed them to the Almighty's protection, saying, that he was going to those of his children whom God had taken to himself, and whom he named, ... five in number.

His wife suspected that he would be removed that night, and therefore, when she left the prison, went, with one of her daughters, and an orphan girl, whom Dr. Taylor had bred up, and watched all night in the Church porch of St. Botolph's, beside Aldgate, by which she knew he must pass.

It was early in February: at two in the morning, one of the Sheriffs, (that Sir Wm. Chester, to whom Saunders had been indentured,) a humane and compassionate man, came to conduct him to an inn without Aldgate, where the Sheriff of Essex was to take him in charge. They went without lights; but when they approached the church, the orphan heard them coming, and exclaiming, "O my dear father!" called upon her mother. "Rowland, Rowland," said the wife, "where art thou?" For it was so dark, that they could not see each other. He answered her, and stopt: the men would have hurried him on, but the Sheriff desired them to let him stay awhile and speak to his wife. Taylor then took his daughter in his arms, and kneeling in the porch, with his wife and the orphan girl, said the Lord's Prayer. He then kissed her, and shaking her by the hand, said, "Farewell, dear wife! be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience." And blessing the children, he charged them to stand strong and steadfast unto Christ, and keep themselves from idolatry. Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley." She followed them to the inn; but the Sheriff, who had wept apace during their sad interview, would, in mercy, allow no more such meetings. He entreated her to go to his house, and use it as her own, pro-

mising she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither; but at her request, she was taken to her own mother's, who was charged to keep her there.

A little before noon the Sheriff of Essex arrived, Taylor was then placed on horseback, and brought out of the inn. John Hull was waiting without the gates with Taylor's son: Taylor called the child, and John lifted him up, and set him on the horse before his father. "Good people," said he, "this is mine own son begotten in lawful matrimony...and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." He then prayed for the boy, laid his hand on his head, and blessed him, and returned him again to John, whom he took by the hand, saying, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had!" And so they rode forth, the Sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard and the Sheriff's men, leading him. When they came to Brentwood, a close hood was made for him, with holes for the eyes and mouth, that he might not be recognised on the way. They halted for the night at Chelmsford, where the Sheriff of Suffolk met them. The other Sheriff here, while they were at supper, entreated him to be reconciled to the church, praising him for his learning and good report, and promising that he and all his friends would be suitors for him to the Queen. Taylor knew how little argument

would avail, and therefore expressed his resolution in a manner characteristic of his temper. "Mr. Sheriff," said he, "and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels; and, to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea, good master Doctor," quoth the Sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart; hold you thus still! It is the comfortablest word that we have heard you speak yet. What! should ye cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part; and, I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." "Would you know my meaning plainly?" said Taylor; "then I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done. And thus a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait."

When they entered Suffolk a number of gentry,

who had been appointed to aid the Sheriff, met them; they assured him that they had his pardon ready, and promised him promotion to a bishopric, if he would accept it. These offers were in vain, "for he had not built his house upon the sand, in fear of falling with every puff of wind, but upon the sure and immoveable rock, Christ, wherefore he abode constant and unmoveable to the end." As they approached Hadley, in answer to a question from the Sheriff, how he fared? he answered, "Never better; I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house." A poor man was waiting for him at the bridge foot, with five small children; they fell upon their knees holding up their hands, and the man cried, "O dear father, and good shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children!" The streets through which he passed were lined with people, some of whom, when they saw him thus led to a cruel death, cried out, "There goeth our good shepherd, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us! What shall become of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him and comfort him! The Sheriff and his men rebuked the people sternly for thus expressing their feelings; but Taylor evermore said to them,

"I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

As he passed the alms-houses he gave among their inmates what was left of the money with which charitable persons had supplied him during his long imprisonment. He carried it in a glove, and, inquiring at the last of those houses whether the blind man and woman, who dwelt there, were living, threw the glove in at their window, and rode on to Aldham Common, where he was to suffer. When they told him that was the place, he exclaimed, "God be thanked, I am even at home!" and, alighting from his horse, he tore with both his hands the hood from his head. The people burst into loud weeping when they saw "his reverend and ancient face with a long white beard," and his grey hairs, which had been roughly clipped and disfigured at his degradation: and they cried out, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Christ strengthen thee, and help thee!" He attempted to speak to them, but one of the guards thrust a staff into his mouth; and when he asked leave of the Sheriff to speak, the Sheriff refused it, and bade him remember his promise to the Council: upon which he replied, "Well, promise must be kept." The common belief was, that after the martyrs were condemned, the Council told them their tongues should be cut out, unless they would promise

that at their deaths they would not speak to the people. None of the martyrs received more open sympathy from the spectators, nor was there any one to whom so much brutality was shown by those who officially attended. When he had undressed himself to his shirt, he said, with a loud voice, " Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible; and I come hither this day to seal it with my blood." One of the guard, a fellow who had used him inhumanly all the way, struck him on the head with a staff, saying, " Is that keeping thy promise, thou heretic?" Taylor then knelt and prayed; and a poor woman, in spite of the guards, who threatened to tread her down under their horses' feet, prayed beside him. Taylor then kissed the stake, got into the pitch-barrel in which he was to stand, and stood upright, his hands folded, and his eyes raised toward heaven in prayer. A butcher who was ordered to assist in setting up the fagots refused, and persisted in the refusal, though the Sheriff threatened to send him to prison. Wretches, however, were easily found for this work, and one of them threw a fagot at the martyr as he stood chained to the stake, which cut his face so that the blood ran down. " O friend," said Taylor, " I have harm enough! what needed that?" Sir John Shelton,

hearing him repeat the Psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the lips, saying, "Ye knave, speak Latin; I will make thee!" And when the fire had been kindled, and he stood patient and unmoved, with his hands folded in prayer, a fellow, whose character made the action appear an impulse of brutality, rather than compassion, cleft his skull with a halberd, and the body then fell forward. "Thus rendered the man* of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death."

The effect of such executions was such as the sufferers trusted it would be, not what the persecutors intended and expected. It seemed as if the martyrs bequeathed to their friends and followers, like Elijah the Prophet, a double portion of their spirit, from the flames amid which they ascended to their everlasting reward. "I thought," said Bradford, in a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who were then fellow-pri-

* Father Persons, in his *Three Conversions*, calls this excellent martyr "a very gross and sensual fellow, as well in mind as in body. In very deed," says this thorough-paced Romanist, "the miserable man's business was principally to have his woman,—and with this faith he went to the fire, where we must leave him eternally, as I fear!"

soners at Oxford, ... "I thought your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly; and this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer... Oh, what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me, so vile a man and miser as always I have been! Is this thy wont to send for such a wretch and hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias?... Dear Fathers, be thankful for me, that I still might be found worthy... And for your parts, make you ready, for we are but your gentlemen-ushers. The marriage of the Lamb is prepared; come unto the marriage!" To this Ridley replied, "Happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling. Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou hast been trusty in small matters, He shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord!... If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man,

but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place; brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and that shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal... So long as I shall understand thou art on thy journey, I shall call upon our heavenly Father to set thee safely home; and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly. ...We do look now every day when we shall be called on. I ween I am the weakest, many ways, of our company,... and yet, I thank our Lord, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God!) rejoiced of it; that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee! Farewell! Farewell!"

John Bradford, whom Ridley thus affectionately addressed, was a native of Manchester, who had been in the service of Sir John Harrington, and by him employed in places of trust and profit. While in that service he was prevailed upon once to pass a false account. He was struck with compunction for this, upon hearing one of Lati-

mer's searching sermons, and forthwith made full restitution, parting with his little patrimony for that purpose. He had given up fair prospects of worldly fortune, that he might become a preacher of the Gospel; and having graduated at Cambridge, was ordained by Ridley, licensed to preach, and promoted to a Prebend in St. Paul's. There was a baseness in the circumstances of his arrest, worthy of the men to whom the business of eradicating the Reformation had been committed. When, at the commencement of Queen Mary's reign, a dagger was thrown at the preacher in St. Paul's, Bradford was standing behind him in the pulpit; and the preacher, seeing his life threatened and actually in danger, entreated him, as a man whose opinions were acceptable to the people, to come forward and protect him. Bradford accordingly addressed the turbulent congregation, quieted them for a time, and, not without some exertion and the aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, lodged the preacher safely in the nearest house. He preached himself in the evening at Bow Church, and severely reproved the people for their seditious misdemeanour; though such was the temper of those citizens who held the Protestant faith, and apprehended what would be the measures of the new Government, that he was told if he dared reprove them, he should not come out of the pulpit alive.

Within three days he was committed to prison, charged with sedition because of the influence which he had exercised over the populace.

After a year and half's imprisonment, he was brought up before the Council: Bourne, whose life he had saved, and who had meantime been made Bishop of Bath, being one. Bonner, who had been present at the riot, affirmed, that he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly, thereby declaring, that he was the author of the sedition; and his protestations, and appeals to Bourne himself, that what he had done had been at Bourne's request, and at the peril of his own life, were disregarded. He was told, however, that the time of mercy was come; and that, if he would do as they had done, he should receive the Queen's pardon. Bradford replied, he had done nothing that required pardon, nothing that was contrary to the laws. "I desire mercy," said he, "with God's mercy; but mercy, with God's wrath, God keep me from!" "Well, (said Gardiner,) if thou make this babbling, being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered thee, know, for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art." Bourne himself was vile enough to aggravate the charges against him, saying, he had done more harm by letters, during his imprisonment, than ever he did by preaching when he was at large.

Bradford might have escaped from prison, if he had thought fit. The keepers had such perfect confidence in him, that they let him go into the city to visit a sick friend, and would even have allowed him to ride into the country. But he was one of those persons who believed that the cause of religion was at this time best to be served by bearing testimony to it in death. This he held to be the only resistance which was lawful. The advice which he gave to the Protestants was, " Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers; that is, in no point, either in hand or tongue, rebel; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do. By patience, possess your souls." To his mother he said, " Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it as you think, but suffereth the Popish doctrines to come again, and prevail. Good mother, God by this doth prove and try his people:...when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth." And he encouraged her to suffer for the truth, rather than forsake it: " Sure may we be," he said, " that, of all deaths, it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. You shall see that I speak as I think; for, by God's grace, I will drink, before you, of this cup, if I be put

to it. I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not! In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content, and glad to hear me; then did you believe me: and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which, I trust, by God's grace, to verify with my life?"

Great efforts were made to induce him to submit himself, and be reconciled to the Romish Church. They told him, that Cranmer, and his companions at Oxford, were unable to answer the Catholic divines, and had, therefore, desired to confer with some of them, for the purpose of a reconciliation; and they urged him, in like manner, to ask for time and learned advisers. But he replied, that he would make no such request, which would be giving occasion for the people to think he doubted of his doctrine, wherein he was most assured. But when they insisted upon bringing learned men to him, he assented, in order that all men might know he feared not to have his faith sifted and tried. They brought, at different times, their most practised disputants, the Bishop of Chichester and the Archbishop of York among others, and Philip's Confessor, F. Alonso de Castro This Spaniard, who was afterwards raised to the see of Santiago de Compostella, had distinguished himself by his writings

against the heretics. It is greatly to his honour, that, having justified, in his books, the punishment of heresy by death, what he saw in England brought him to a better mind, insomuch that he ventured to touch upon the subject when preaching before Philip, and censured the English Prelates for their severity, saying, they learnt it not in Scripture to burn any for their conscience, but rather that they should live and be converted: unless, indeed, which there is too much reason to suspect, this was done with a political view, and in obedience to his instructions; otherwise, such opinions would have, more probably, conducted him to the Inquisition, than to Santiago.

The argument turned always upon the corporal presence; and Bradford had little difficulty in making his part good. Some disputes, which had arisen among his fellow-prisoners, troubled him far more. There were a few, who held Arian opinions; more, who opposed the doctrines of absolute predestination and original sin, which most of the Reformers held in their extreme meaning. Bradford was assisted, in conciliating these disputants, by Taylor, Philpot, and Bishop Farrer, and by the imprisoned Prelates at Oxford, whom they requested to take cognizance of the matter, and remedy it. But the most effectual argument was, an appeal to their common danger, and their common cause. "Let us take up our cross to-

gether," said Philpot, "and go to the Mount of Calvary!" "I am going before you," said Bradford, "to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home."

At length, the keeper's wife, with great emotion, told him, she was come to bring him heavy news,...they were preparing his chain, and on the morrow he must be burnt. Bradford upon that put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes, thanked God. "I have looked for this a long time," said he, "and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour: the Lord make me worthy thereof." He retired into his chamber, and prayed awhile in secret; and when night came, drest himself in a shirt, which had been made by a faithful friend, for his burning. About midnight, they removed him from the Counter to Newgate, thinking that, at that hour, there would be none stirring abroad; but the news had been divulged, and multitudes waited for him on the way, to give and receive the last farewell and the last blessing. The report was, that the execution was to take place at four in the morning,...and at that early hour, Smithfield was crowded with people; but it was not till nine that he was brought out from Newgate, and with him an apprentice, John Leaf by name, who was to be his stake-fellow,...a word

which this dreadful state of things had brought into common use. The lad (for he was only in his twentieth year) could neither write nor read, and was condemned to this inhuman death for holding the faith in which he had been brought up, that material bread remained in the Sacrament, and that confession to a Priest was not necessary to salvation. Two papers had been presented to him in prison, one containing a recantation, the other a confession of his opinions, that he might chuse between life and death, by setting his hand to the one. The recantation was read to him first; he desired then to hear the other, and when he had heard it, pricked his hand, and sprinkled the blood upon the paper, bidding them carry the bill to the Bishop, and show him that he had sealed it with his blood already. A spirit like this needed no example to encourage it. The elder martyr comforted him, and exhorted the people to repentance; for which, Woodroff, the Sheriff, as much noted for brutality as Chester, his colleague, was for gentleness, ordered his hands to be tied; the wretch had, just before, struck Bradford's brother-in-law on the head so violently, that the blood ran about his shoulders. Bradford appeared as superior to pain as he had been to fear. "He endured the flame as a fresh gale of wind in a hot summer's day;" and his last audible words were, "Strait is the way, and

narrow is the gate that leadeth to salvation, and few there be that find it:"...words uttered with the feeling of one who had trod in that way, and was then even on the threshold of his heavenly home.

Among the persons who derived strength from Bradford's exhortations, were Farrer and Ridley, the Bishops of St. David's and London. The former had consented to receive the Communion only in one kind; and the other, when committed to the Tower, had gone to Mass there. He remonstrated with both, upon the evil effect of such examples, and both received his admonition in the same Christian spirit which had prompted it. Farrer was sent into his own diocese, and suffered at Caermarthen. He had such confidence in himself and his cause, that when one lamented the cruel manner of his death, he bade him give no credit to his doctrine, if he saw him once flinch in the flames; and in performance of that word he stood unmoved in the fire, till a wretch, impatient at beholding his patience, stunned him by a blow on the head. "Blessed be our heavenly Father," said Ridley, "for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord calleth for...He hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the highway, *et sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium*

The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt; and I thank God heartily, that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house." He blessed God also that Rogers, whom it had pleased God, out of gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him, to set forth first, had also been one of his calling to the ministry, and of his preferring in St. Paul's Church; and he expressed his trust that God would strengthen him to be the third martyr from that church in this time of persecution.

This excellent prelate, Nicholas Ridley, whose memory is without spot or stain, was descended from "a right worshipful stock" in Northumberland, and had been successively Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, Bishop of Rochester, and of London. He was a man of the kindest and gentlest disposition, which was manifested by his treatment of the Romanist Bishop Heath, when committed for twelve months to his custody; and by his conduct to Bonner's relations, when he succeeded to the see of London upon that prelate's deposition. The mother and sister of Bonner were entertained every day at his table with as much respect, as if they had been his own kindred. How this was requited will hereafter be seen.

Ridley, as well as Cranmer, might have been proceeded against for treason, for he had preached,

by order of the Council, in favour of the Lady Jane. But it was for the Mass that they were to suffer as conspicuous victims; and, after one disputation at the Tower upon that question, they were sent to Oxford, and, with Latimer for their fellow-prisoner, confined in the common gaol, once well known by the name of Bocardo. The keeper's wife was so bigoted a Papist, that she believed every act of inhumanity towards them, would be carried to the score of her good works; but, in spite of her vigilance, they had faithful followers, by whose means they kept up an intercourse with those who were confined in London, and received from thence both money, food, and apparel:...strangers as well as friends contributing to them in their affliction. The person, whose means enabled her to assist the sufferers most largely, seems to have been the Lady Vane. Ridley, during his long confinement, wrote several epistles suited to the condition of this miserable country. He advised those who were not in captivity to fly, as the safest and wisest course; and, in reply to those who were of opinion that the point of duty was to remain and suffer martyrdom, he observed, that in many things what is best for one at some times, is not best for all at all times. But as he prayed that every Christian brother or sister, "when brought in to the wrestling place, might not shrink nor relent one inch,

nor give back, whatsoever might befal, but stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death," so, he said, he dared not advise any of their own swing to start upon the stage, or cast themselves either before, or further in danger, than time and need should require. It was better to fly; for they who remained must either bewray themselves, by breaking the Romish laws and customs; or break the law of God, and offend their own conscience, by disserving Him. What, then, should those persons do, who, because of age, infirmity, poverty, or the condition of their families, dependant wholly upon their exertions for support, found it utterly impossible to leave the country? "Alas," says Ridley, "what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart, that neither can depart, and, without extreme danger and peril, is not able to tarry still! For these, alas, my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this... that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of the truth, whatever might befall: and for the rest, to put their trust wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance." The sins of the nation, the hypocrisy and irreligion which had prevailed, had drawn this just visitation upon it; and he believed that, without doubt, the world was drawing towards its end.

He wrote also a letter of farewell to his relations and friends, and all his faithful countrymen: ...an earnest and affectionate letter, wherein he charged them not to be abashed at the manner of his death: "Ye have rather cause to rejoice," said he, "if ye love me indeed, for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named. Yea, I count it greater honour before God, to die in his cause, (whereof I nothing doubt,) than is in any earthly or temporal promotion." Then, as the recollection of his happier days arose, he past into a strain of beautiful feeling: "Farewell, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not, for thy benefits, at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best-beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me?...and of thy private commodities and emoluments in Colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partaker of?...I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness; and I pray God, that his laws, and the sincere

Gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught, and faithfully learned, in thee!"

"Farewell, Pembroke-Hall; of late, mine own College, my cure, and my charge! What case thou art in now, God knoweth: I know not well. Thou wast ever named, since I knew thee, to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter-forth of Christ's Gospel, and of God's true word: so I found thee; and, blessed be God, so I left thee, indeed. Woe is me, for thee, mine own dear College, if ever thou suffer thyself, by any means, to be brought from that trade! In thy orchard,...(the walls, buts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness,) I learned, without book, almost all Paul's Epistles; yea, and, I ween, all the canonical epistles. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven: for, the profit thereof, I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after. ... The Lord grant, that this zeal towards that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the Holy Scriptures, may ever abide in that College, so long as the world shall endure!"

Then, after bidding adieu to Herne in East Kent, that "worshipful and wealthy parish," to which Cranmer had called him, as his first cure; to Canterbury Cathedral, whereof he had once

been a member; and to Rochester, where he had been Bishop; he addressed his late see, the Metropolis: "O, London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the Prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's Word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now... some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's Gospel-sake....As to my deposition, and the spoil of my goods, I refer it unto God, which is a just judge; and I beseech God, that that, which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day....O thou now wicked and bloody See, why doest thou set up again the altars of Idolatry, which, by the word of God, were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's Table? Why dost thou daily delude the people? Why babblest thou the Common Prayer in a strange tongue?...Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of Antichrist, thou bloody wolf, why slayest thou down, and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor, Christ?...Thinkest thou, that the Lord will not

require the blood of his Saints at thy hands?... Yet, O London, I may not leave thee thus!"... and then passing into a strain more accordant to his mild and kindly temper, he remembered the many secret mourners in that city, who were groaning under the iniquity of the times; bestowed a noble eulogium upon the two Mayors, Sir Richard Dobs and Sir George Barnes, who had so zealously co-operated with him in the establishment of the Hospitals, and would have done so much more, had King Edward continued to reign; bade all the faithful citizens farewell; his fellow-sufferers, whether, in prison, or in banishment, they were bearing witness to the truth; and, finally, the universal Church of Christ:...."Farewell, dear brethren, farewell; and let us comfort our hearts, in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God; for Heaven and Earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever!"

In this language did Ridley express his feelings, while he was looking forward to the stake. At length, White, Brooks, and Holyman, the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford, as Commissioners from the Legate, Cardinal Pole, to ascite, judge, and condemn him and Latimer. Ridley was called for first, and appeared before them in the Divinity School: he stood bareheaded while the Com-

mission was being read; till, hearing the Legate of the Pope named, he immediately put on his cap. The Bishop of Lincoln upon this told him, that unless he uncovered at the names of the Cardinal and Pope, they must order his cap to be taken off. Ridley replied, that he intended no contumacy toward them, nor any derogation toward the Lord Cardinal, whom, for his learning and virtue, as well as for his royal blood, he knew to be worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour: and with that he put off his cap, and bowed his knee: "But in that he is Legate of the Pope," said he, covering his head as he spake, "whose usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance unto him." The admonition was courteously repeated; and again, with the like mild firmness, answered Ridley, saying, they would do as they pleased in taking his cap off, and he should be content. A beadle was then ordered to pluck it off. His answer was then required to certain questions concerning the Sacrament; in which he acknowledged a spiritual, but denied a corporal presence. They would not receive his protestation against their authority, as coming from the Pope; but he was told to answer now, and on the morrow he might erase, add, and alter, what he would. When he requested they would suffer him to speak three

words, White answered, that to-morrow he should speak forty; so having answered briefly to the articles, he was remanded; and Latimer was called in.

Latimer had been kept waiting during Ridley's examination. As soon as he entered, he said, "My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready; for I am an old man, and it is a great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon cold walls." He was, at this time, nearly seventy years of age, and had never recovered the hurt which he had received, when far advanced in life, by a tree falling upon him. He had suffered, also, in his health, from the inhumanity of the Lieutenant of the Tower, before his removal to Oxford. One day, he sent this person word, that if he did not look better to him, he should, perchance, deceive him. The Lieutenant, thinking that he meant to escape, and had been simple enough to boast of it, came to him, and demanded what he meant? "You look, I think," said Latimer, "that I should be burnt; but, except you let me have some fire, I may deceive your expectation; for I am like to starve here, for cold." His crazed body had not recovered from this winter's usage; and his appearance might have moved compassion, even in those who had not heard him preach before the Court, and known the reputation of

the man, and his singular integrity and worth. He came hat in hand, with a kerchief bound round his head, and over it a night-cap or two, and a great cap, such as townsmen used in those days, with two broad flaps to button under the chin. His dress was a gown of Bristol frize, old and threadbare, fastened round the body with a penny leathern girdle; his Testament was suspended from this girdle by a leathern string; and his spectacles, without a case, were hanging from his neck upon his breast.

White, of Lincoln, began by exhorting him to return to the unity of the Church. Christ, he affirmed, had said to St. Peter, *Rege oves meas;* words which implied pre-eminence and government, Kings being called *Reges à regendo;* and that authority was inherited by the see of Rome. If he persisted in schism and heresy, they must then pronounce him a lost child, a son of perdition, a rotten member; and, as such, to be cut off. "Therefore, Master Latimer," said he, "for God's love, consider your estate! Remember, you are a learned man; you have taken degrees in the schools, borne the office of a Bishop:... remember you are an old man; spare your body, accelerate not your death:...and specially remember your soul's health; consider that, if you die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God, for it is the cause that maketh the

martyr, and not the death; consider, that if you die in this state, you die without grace; for without the Church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand; humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the Church."

Latimer's reply to this was altogether characteristic. He took hold of the argument, that Christ had given a jurisdiction to St. Peter, when he bade him *regere*,...govern his people. "The Bishops of Rome," he said, "have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed, they ought *regere*; but how, my Lord? Not as they will themselves; this *regere* must be hedged in and ditched in. They must *regere*; but *secundum Verbum Dei*: they must rule; but according to the Word of God." He then spake of a book, lately published, in which it was argued, that the Clergy possessed the same authority as the Levites; and where the Bible said, that the Levites, if there arose any controversy among the people, should decide the matter, *secundum legem Dei*, according to the law of God,...these words were left out, and the text was quoted as saying, that, as the Priests should decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people. "A large authority, I ensure you!" said Latimer. "What gelding of Scripture is this! What clipping of God's coin?" White replied, he

knew nothing of the book: upon which Latimer told them, it was written by one, who was now Bishop of Gloucester; a person whom he did not know, nor had ever, to his knowledge, seen. This occasioned a laugh; because that Bishop was one of his judges, and now rose up, saying, it was his book. "Was it your's, my Lord?" quoth Latimer, "indeed, I knew not your Lordship; nor did I ever see you before,...neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me." The audience, upon this, with a brutality, of which even educated men are capable, when they act in crowds, laughed again. "Why, my Masters," said the old man, "this is no laughing matter! I answer upon life and death! *Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis!*" The Bishop defended his book, and said, "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." "Lo," exclaimed the infirm old man, whose intellect and heart were still sound and vigorous as ever, "Lo, you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the School of Oblivion, making the bare walls my library;...keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink,...and now you let me loose, to come and answer to articles! You deal with me, as though two were appointed to fight for life and death; and overnight, the one, through friends and favour, is

cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy, or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength, and lusty; the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

When Latimer had answered to the articles, he prayed they would let him declare, in three words, why he refused the authority of the Pope. He was answered, as Ridley had been, that, on the morrow, he might speak forty. "Nay, my Lords," said he, "I beseech you, do with me now as it shall please your Lordships. I pray you, let me not be troubled to-morrow again. As for my part, I require no respite, for I am at a point." But they insisted that he should appear again, saying, they trusted God would work with him by the morrow;...and thus he was remanded.

On the following day, the Session was held, in St. Mary's Church, which had been fitted up for the occasion, with a high throne for the Commissioners, trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk; and, at some distance from their feet, Ridley was set, at a framed table, which was covered with a silk cloth: the space wherein the table stood was compassed with seats for the Heads of the

University, and their friends; and the body of the building crowded with spectators. After the Bishops had in vain exhorted and entreated him to submit himself to the Church, he desired leave, as had been promised him, to state, why he could not, in conscience, admit the authority of the Pope. White acknowledged, that when he had demanded leave to speak three words, he had promised to allow him forty; and that grant he said he would perform. Upon which Dr. Weston, a man infamously conspicuous as one of the most active and willing agents in the Marian persecution, exclaimed, "Why, he hath spoken four hundred already!" Ridley confessed he had, but not upon that matter; and White then,...for now, not courtesy alone, but even the appearance of decent humanity, was laid aside,...bade him take his license, but keep to the number prescribed, which, he said, he would count upon his fingers; before Ridley had finished a sentence, the Romanists, who were sitting by, cried, that his number was out; and thus he was silenced. White took God to witness, that he was sorry for him. "I believe it well, my Lord," replied Ridley, "forasmuch as it will one day be burdenous to your soul!" Sentence was then pronounced; after which, they excommunicated and delivered him to the secular powers. Latimer was next called in, and had as little liberty of

speech allowed him. He appealed to the next General Council which should be truly called in God's name. White told him, it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called; and he was committed, in like manner, to the Mayor's custody, till the time of execution.

The ceremony of degradation was performed upon Ridley, at the Mayor's house, by the Bishop of Gloucester, with the Vice-Chancellor, and the other Romanists, who now occupied all offices in the University. They threatened to gag him, when he declared that, as long as he had breath, he would speak against their abominable doings; and when they would have made him hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, he said he would not take them, but would let them fall: so that one of the attendants held them in his hand. This mockery being ended, Ridley would have discoursed with Brooks concerning it; but he was told, that being an excommunicated man, it was not lawful to converse with him. Brooks, however, promised to promote a supplication to the Queen, which the Martyr read. It related to some tenants of the see of London, who had renewed their leases, while he was Bishop, upon fair terms, in customary form; but who were in danger of ruin, because Bonner would not allow of the renewal. He prayed, that their leases

might be held good, as conscience and equity required; or if that might not be, that, out of the property which he had left at Fulham, they might be repaid such part of the fines as he had received; half his plate, he thought, might suffice for this. And he petitioned for his sister, whose husband Bonner had deprived of the provision which he had made for her and her family. The Archbishop of York, he said, who had lived with him more than a year, knew the circumstances, and would certify the Queen, that he petitioned for nothing but what was just and right.

When Ridley came to his sister's name, in this supplication, his voice faltered, and, for a little while, tears prevented him from proceeding. Recovering himself, he said, "This is nature that moveth me; but I have now done." The Bishop of Gloucester promised in conscience to further his request; but so far was Bonner from acknowledging the beneficence which Ridley had shown to his mother and sister, that, not content with depriving the martyred Bishop's brother-in-law of his means of subsistence, he threatened, in his brutal language, to make twelve Godfathers go upon him; and would have brought him to the stake, if Heath, in return for the kindness he had experienced from Ridley, had not interposed, and saved him.

On the following day, they were led to the place of execution, which was in a ditch opposite Baliol College. Lord Williams, of Tame, had been appointed to see it done, with a sufficient retinue, lest any tumult might be made in the hope of rescuing them. They embraced each other, knelt, each beside his stake, in prayer, and then conversed together, while the Lord Williams, and the other persons in authority, removed themselves out of the sun. These accursed sacrifices were always introduced by a sermon. A certain Dr. Smith preached, taking for his text, "If I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it availeth me nothing;" from whence he drew conclusions, as uncharitable as ever were detorted from Scripture. Ridley desired leave to answer the sermon: he was told, that if he would recant his opinions, he should have his life,...otherwise he must suffer for his deserts; and the Vice-Chancellor, with some bailiffs, as brutal as himself, stopt his mouth with their hands, after he had said, "So long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth. God's will be done in me!" Latimer said, he could answer the sermon well enough, if he might; and contented himself with exclaiming, "Well, there is nothing hid, but it shall be opened;" a saying which he frequently used.

Ridley distributed such trifles as he had about him, to those who were near; and many pressed about him, to obtain something as a relic. They then undressed for the stake; and Latimer, when he had put off his prison dress, remained in a shroud, which he had put on, instead of a shirt, for that day's office. Till then, his appearance had been that of a poor withered bent old man; but now, as if he had put off the burthen of infirmity and age, "he stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold."

Then Ridley uttered this prayer: "Oh, Heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies!" After he had been chained to the stake, his brother-in-law, who, during the whole time of his imprisonment, had remained in Oxford, to serve him in whatever he could, tied a bag of gunpowder round his neck. Ridley, being told what it was, said, he received it as being sent of God; and asking, if he had some for Latimer also, bade him give it in time, lest it should be too late. Meantime, he spake to Lord Williams, and entreated him to use his influence with the Queen, in behalf of his sister and the poor tenants; this, he said, being

the only thing, he blessed God, which troubled his conscience. When the fire was brought, Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out!" The venerable old man received the flame as if embracing it, and having, as it were, bathed his hands in the fire, and stroked his face with them, died presently, apparently, without pain. Ridley endured a longer martyrdom, till the gunpowder exploded, and then he fell at Latimer's feet. As the bodies were consumed, the quantity of blood which gushed from Latimer's heart astonished the beholders. It was observed the more, because he had continually prayed, during his imprisonment, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until death, and shed his heart's blood for the same. His other prayers in prison were, that God of his mercy would restore his Gospel to this country once again, and that he would preserve the Lady Elizabeth, whom, in his prayers, says Fox, he was wont accustomably to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England!

That prayer, Gardiner would have frustrated,

if he could: he left no means untried for destroying the Lady Elizabeth; and it was even said, that he had once despatched a writ for her execution. But the Queen, if she had little sense of natural humanity, had some consideration for public opinion; and Philip also favoured the Lady Elizabeth...The Queen's was a precarious life, and, in case of her decease, a dispensation would gladly be granted for his marriage with her successor. Yet these remote and uncertain hopes might perhaps not have availed much longer, to save a life which was of such importance to the Protestant cause, if Gardiner had not now been summoned to his account. Fox has well characterized him as "toward his superiors, flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equals stout and envious;...neither true Protestant, nor right Papist; neither constant in his error, nor yet steadfast in the truth: neither friend to the Pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Christ; false in King Henry's time, a dissembler in King Edward's, double-perjured and a murderer in Queen Mary's." When in his last illness the Bishop of Chichester spoke to him of free justification through the merits of our Saviour, he exclaimed, "What, my Lord, will you open that gap? To me, and such as are in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, and farewell altogether!" Some

of his last words were, "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter." The Romanists say that he died in sentiments of great repentance; . . . no man had more to repent of, nor has any man left a name more deservedly odious in English history.

It is certain that he had a fore-feeling of this; and finding how little persecution availed, or rather that it strengthened the cause which it was intended to crush, shrunk from the forward part which he had so long taken, and left Bonner to take upon him more of the business and of the execrations which attended it. He had tried it upon a scale which would have satisfied even a Spanish Inquisitor. He had regarded neither learning nor ignorance, age nor youth, sex nor condition. The details which have here been given, relate only to men conspicuous either in character or station; persons who were masters of the controversy, and pledged to the cause, who knew the importance of their example, and who had their intellectual strength, and the principle of honour, to aid the sense of religious duty. But the persecutors were not contented with these victims; they sent artificers and husbandmen, women and boys, to the stake. Father Persons, who had thoroughly imbibed the inhumanity of his Church, calls them a contemptible and pitiful rabblement, . . . obscure and unlearned

fellows, fond and obstinate women,...abject and infamous. He praises the patience, longanimity, diligence, and charity, of the Bishops in seeking to reclaim them; and compassionates the persecutors for having been "forced to punish so great a number of such a base quality, for such opinions as neither themselves could well understand, nor have any surer ground thereof than their own foolish apprehensions." But "what would our Saviour," he says, "have said of such pastors, if they had suffered such noisome wilful beasts to have lived freely among their flock, without restraint or punishment?"..."Artificers, craftsmen, spinsters, and like people," he says, "came to answer for themselves before their Bishops, though never so ignorant or opposite among themselves, ...yet every one would die for his opinions;...no reason to the contrary, no persuasion, no argument, no inducements, no threats, no fair means, no foul, would serve, nor the present terror of fire itself;...and the more the pastors entreated with them by any of the foresaid means, the worse they were. And will you doubt to call this wilful pertinacity, in the highest degree?"

The compassion which Father Persons expresses for the persecutors, is worthy of a writer base enough to assert that the married clergy (specifying Rogers, Saunders, Taylor, and Hooper,) "were drawn into heresy first and principally by

the sensual bait of getting themselves women under the name of wives;...slanderous enough to affirm that Cranmer, wherever he travelled, carried about a woman in a chest with him; and inhuman enough to insult the memory of Ridley and Latimer, because they permitted * gunpowder to be placed about them at the stake! His contemptuous remarks upon the condition of the martyrs, and their want of learning, produced a just and characteristic reply from Fuller. After reminding him that God sometimes chooseth the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, he says, "Always in time of persecution the Church is like a copse, which hath in it more

* "They were both burned together," he says, "each of them taking gunpowder to dispatch himself, which yet is not read to have been practised by old martyrs. It seemeth that these men would have the fame of martyrdom without the pain; and now they have incurred the everlasting pain, if by their end we may judge."—*Three Conversions*, Vol. III., p. 231.

The same reproach was made by Dorman, a Romanist, who was present at their martyrdom, and rejoiced in it. Dean Noel answered this man's writings, and said upon this point, "Why may you devise means of long afflicting and tormenting innocent and true Christians, (as the Papists did by slack and lingering fire made of green fuel, as in many places was done); and why may not they accept speedy means offered to them, whereby they might the sooner be rid from such tyrants as you are, and be with Christ?"—*Strype's Memorials*, Vol. IV., 402. (Bagster's Edition.)

underwood than oaks. For great men consult with their safety; and whilst the poorer sort, as having little to lose, boldly embrace religion with both arms, the rich too often do only behold it at distance with a smiling countenance, but dare not adventure to entertain it, except with very great secrecy," It appears, indeed, that of all the persons who were enriched by the spoils of the religious houses, there was not one who suffered for his opinions during the persecution. They were made conformists by the Bull which confirmed to them the possession of the property they had acquired so ill.

Further, it is to be observed of the martyrs in humble life, that they suffered not for obtruding their belief, but for refusing to renounce it; they continued modestly in their station, " none presuming to invade the ministerial function, nor adventuring to preach, save only that their real sermon of patience at their death." Nor was it for vain and presumptuous speculations, nor for opinions which endanger the foundations of society, that they were called in question: the Sacrament of the altar was the touchstone. " Many, indeed," says Fuller, "are the differences betwixt us and the Romish Church, but on this point the examiners pinched most. Haply because in other controversies, Protestants, (hunted after by these bloodhounds,) might take covert under

some tolerable distinction, and thereby evade the danger: whereas this point of the real, corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the self-same body that was crucified, was such downright falsehood, it was incapable of any palliation, and was the compendious way to discover those of the contrary opinion. This *neck-question*, (as I may term it,) the most dull and duncical commissioner was able to ask; and, thanks be to God, the silliest Protestant soul brought before them, was able to answer, first by denying it, then by dying in the defence of his denial." "If," says Baxter, "you are but sure you know *bread* and *wine* when you *see* and *feel*, and *smell* and *taste* them, then you are at the end of controversy with the Papists."

Two leaders in this noble army of martyrs had been reserved till after Gardiner's death, Philpot and Cranmer; the latter was the especial object of the Queen's vengeance; the former the persecutors seem to have been more than usually desirous of converting, perhaps, because of his connexions, his abilities, and his temper, which, if he had joined their party, would have made him active in it. He was the son of a Hampshire knight, and had been bred at New College, where, while studying the civil law, he had made himself a proficient in Hebrew. Having improved his mind by travelling, he entered into

holy orders on his return, and was made Archdeacon of Winchester. At the commencement of this bloody reign, he was one of the six clergy who opposed, in convocation, the restoration of Popery, and he was the most ardent of them. His foresight of the horrors which would ensue, made him burst into tears; he challenged the Romanists to dispute with him upon the question of transubstantiation, and if he did not confound any six of them on that point, "let me be burnt before the court-gates," said he, "with as many fagots as be in London." But though in that convocation it was lawful for him to speak his opinion freely, the faith which he professed being at that time the established faith, and liberty moreover having been given, in the name of the Queen and Council, for every one to speak freely, Philpot was called before Gardiner as his ordinary on that account, and put in confinement, on suspicion of having published the report of the disputation.

After Ridley and Latimer had suffered, he was brought before the Commissioners at Newgate, one of whom, Dr. Story, remarked to him, "that he was well fed." He replied, "If I be fat and in good liking, Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelvemonth and a half, in a close corner." Saying then that he had broken no law in delivering his mind

freely, when and where he was called upon and authorized so to do, he expressed a hope that Story, for old acquaintance in Oxford, would show him some friendship, and not extremity. Story answered, "If thou wouldest be a good Catholic, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to an heretic as thou art, but spend both gown and coat but I will burn thee." And, declaring that he would sweep the prisons of these heretics, he ordered him to the Bishop's coal-house.

In a little dark prison adjoining this coal-house, Philpot found two persons in the stocks; one of them, Whittle by name, was a married priest, who, after a painful imprisonment, had consented to sign a recantation in Bonner's register. Unable to rest after having done this, he presented himself again, desired to see the bill, and tore it in pieces, for which Bonner beat him violently, plucked out part of his beard, and set him in the stocks, till he could be sent in due form to the stake, where, with six companions in martyrdom, two of whom were women, he afterwards suffered bravely. Bonner put on an appearance of unusual courtesy towards Philpot; he sent food to him and his fellows, and affected displeasure that he should be troubled with persons who did not belong to his diocese. And when Philpot was brought before

him, he accosted him with apparent goodwill, and said, "Give me your hand," which Philpot kissed and presented. The Bishop soon came to the point, and demanded what was his judgement concerning the Sacrament? Philpot answered in the words of St. Ambrose to Valentinian, *Tolle legem et fiet certamen*, "Take away the law, and I shall reason with you...I cannot show you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. And yet, if I come in open judgement, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you." Bonner ended the examination, by saying he should be glad to do him any good if he could; and, ordering him to the cellar to drink a cup of wine, he was then remanded to the coal-house, "Where," said he, "I, with six fellows, do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do on their beds of down."

In a subsequent examination, at which several Bishops were present, Story reviled him for an ignorant, fantastical, and beastly heretic, who purposed to be a stinking martyr. "These heretics," said he, "be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being, indeed, very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that

which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in ... Well, Sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him he trembled as though he had had the palsy. These heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them! and I tell thee that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch. Philpot replied, " You have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor!" Story then departed, saying, his coming was to signify to the Bishop that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way; and turning to Philpot, he added, " I certify thee that thou mayest thank no other man but me." As the prisoner was on the way back to his miserable lodging, Bonner said to him, " Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it." My Lord," he replied, " the pleasure that I will require of your Lordship, is to hasten my judgement which is committed unto you, and to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest." Notwithstanding these fair words on Bonner's

part, the prisoner was left to lie upon straw in his coal-house, without fire or candle, in the month of November.

The Lords of the Council were present at the next examination; one of whom, Lord Rich, asked him if he were of the Philpots of Hampshire? and being told that he was Sir P. Philpot's son, acknowledged him for his near kinsman, and said he would go an hundred miles barefooted to do him good. Philpot thanked him for challenging kindred of a poor prisoner: and Rich offered that ten learned men should be brought to reason with him, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, if he would promise to abide by their judgement. He replied, that unless he were sure they would judge according to the word of God, he could not do this. By the Word he would be tried, and by such as would judge according to it. "For example," said he, "if there were a controversy between your Lordship and another, upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute determine the point?" "No, marry," replied Rich, "the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof." Bonner exclaimed, "He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be;" and the Lords all declared he had overthrown himself by his own argument. "If it be pondered thoroughly," rejoined Philpot, "it maketh wholly

with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my Lord Rich here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether he may judge a meaning contrary to the express words, or no?" Rich made answer, "He cannot do so." "Even so," quoth the martyr, "say I; that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false Church of Rome doth in many things."

After farther debate upon the corporal presence, the Lords refreshed themselves with drinking, and Rich had the humanity to give his kinsman a cup:... "God requite it him," says Philpot, "for I was a-thirst indeed." Dr. Chedsey attacked him then, and began by saying, that in the Convocation he had been so put to silence by his opponents, that he fell to weeping, because he had nothing further to say. "That I wept," replied Philpot, "was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for, I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have: but my weeping was as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her. And I, foreseeing then the destruction which you, through violence and unrighteousness which you

then declared, would work against the true Church of Christ and her faithful members, (as this day beareth witness,) was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinitely more, have felt, and shall feel." It was in vain for him to protest that he thought most reverently of the Sacrament, and believed it to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that Christ had left us on earth. The point of transubstantiation was insisted on; and Bonner, after a train of reasoning too gross and despicable to be repeated, broke up the sitting, saying he would trouble their Lordships no longer with this obstinate man, with whom they could do no good.

After this, Bonner displayed himself in his natural character. When he summoned him again, he addressed him with, Sirrah, come hither! Called him a fool, and a very ignorant fool, and said, "By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee!" "If to be in a blind coal-house, both without fire and candle, may be counted good handling," replied Philpot, "then may it be said I am well handled. Your Lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list." "You think," quoth Bonner, "because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more; yet, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you do recant." Philpot coolly replied, "My

Lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes!" Bonner then read the libel against him, to which Philpot, in the first instance, objected upon legal grounds, as stating falsely that he was of Bonner's diocese. "What," said Bonner, "art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now, I pray you?" Philpot answered, "I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house; yet I am not of your diocese. I was brought hither by violence; and therefore my being here is not sufficient to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction." But in these iniquitous proceedings it availed the martyr as little to plead Law as Gospel.

The libel charged him with denying baptism to be necessary; denying fasting, prayer, and all good works; teaching that faith was sufficient, whatever a man's actions might be; and that God was the author of all sin and wickedness. "Is not your Lordship ashamed," said Philpot, "to say that I maintain these abominable blasphemies? which, if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an heretic, and to be burnt an hundred times, if it were possible!" He was now frequently set in the stocks at night, and being more narrowly watched and searched, was prevented at length from recording the proceedings. They ended, as usual, in delivering him

over to the secular arm; and he suffered in Smithfield, manifesting to the last the same brave heart, collected mind, and firm faith, which he had shown in all his trials.

It is probable that Philpot, and some of his fellow-martyrs, were detained so long in prison before any further steps were taken against them, in a hope that the continual apprehension of the dreadful fate, which nothing but their recantation could avert, might exhaust their spirits, and fear, acting upon a debilitated frame, produce what never could have been effected by reasoning. But this motive could not have operated in Cranmer's case; the determination had been taken that no mercy, under any circumstances, should be extended to him; and it seems, therefore, he had been kept alive thus long, that he might taste the bitterness of death in every separate martyrdom of his friends, before he himself was called for. The Romanists hated him as the person by whom, more than by any other single hand, the Reformation in this country had been conducted. In what manner the Protestants regarded him was strikingly expressed by Ridley; "The integrity and uprightness of that man," said he, "his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God, therefore, which, in such abundance of iniquity and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reve-

rend old age, such a witness for the truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge, and confess, the truth of God!"

As soon as Cranmer perceived what course events were likely to take after King Edward's death, he gave orders that all his debts should be paid, to the uttermost farthing, and cancelled the bills which were due to him from persons who were not in a condition to discharge them. This being done, he said he was his own man, and, with God's help, able to answer all the world, and all wordly adversities. Those adversities soon came upon him: he was attainted of treason, and adjudged guilty of it. Upon this point, he knew that he had offended, and solicited pardon; protesting, that he had opposed the late King's intention of altering the succession, and had only been induced to sign the will, by the King's earnest request, and the opinion of the judges. The pardon was granted; not as an act of mercy, for Mary and her counsellors never acted under that impulse; but, that he might be proceeded against as a heretic, and condemned to a more cruel and ignominious death. He attempted to obtain a hearing from the Queen, that he might explain to her, upon what grounds her father and her brother had altered the reli-

gion of the country. It lay not in him, he said, nor in any private subject, to reform things; but quietly to suffer what they could not amend. Yet he thought it his duty, considering what place he once bore, and knowing what he did, and having borne a great part in all the alterations, to show the Queen his mind; and when he had done this, he should think himself discharged. If this request had been granted, it would have produced no effect. But, after his removal to Oxford, he, with Ridley and Latimer, was brought forward in St. Mary's, to hold a disputation with the Romanists, . . . that the latter might adjudge the victory to themselves. When this was over, they were condemned as heretics; from which sentence Cranmer appealed to the just judgement of the Almighty.

But because the kingdom had not, at that time, been reconciled to the Pope, he was to be tried and sentenced upon a new Commission. Accordingly, he was arraigned for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy, before the same Commissioners who condemned his fellow prisoners: upon which occasion, vailing his cap, like them, to the Queen's representatives, he covered himself when he looked at the Pope's delegate. Brooks opened the proceedings with a speech, in which he reminded the Archbishop of the low origin from which he had risen, and the high de-

gree whence he had fallen, lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all,...to the end of honour and life. "If the light of your candle," said he, "be dusky, your candlestick is like to be removed, and have a great fall; so low, that it be quite out of God's favour, and past all hope of recovery: for in hell is no redemption. The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say, remember from whence thou hast fallen!...I add also, and whither you fall!" He then exhorted him to renounce his errors, assuring him, that he had been spared for his treason, in hope of his amendment; and that, if he were converted, it was ten to one that though he had been Metropolitan of England, he should be as well still, and rather better.

Cranmer maintained his cause with his wonted learning and gentleness, and with that superiority which the cause itself gave him. When he acknowledged his marriage, one of the Commissioners observed, that his children then were bondmen to the see of Canterbury. He smiled at this, and asked whether, if a Priest kept a concubine, their issue were bondmen? adding, "I trust you will make my children's case no worse." Depositions concerning the doctrines he had preached were taken against him, and he was then cited to appear at Rome in person within eighty days, there to make his answer.

This, he said, he would be content to do, if the Queen would send him:...but this was a mere form and mockery, for he was detained in strait prison; and, at the end of the term, declared contumacious for not appearing, and as such condemned. They did not even wait till the term was expired before they degraded him. Thirlby and Bonner were commissioned to perform this ceremony. The former had been his old and familiar friend, and had received many and great kindnesses from his hands: his tears and his emotions showed that he remembered this. But Bonner officiated with characteristic insolence. That the mockery might be more insulting, the vestments were made of rags and canvass. In this plight, with a mock mitre and pall, and a crosier in his hand, he was exhibited in St. Mary's, while the brutal Bonner exclaimed, "This is the man that hath despised the Pope, and now is to be judged by him! This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church! This is the man that condemned the blessed Sacrament, and now is come to be condemned before that Sacrament!" And in this strain he went on, though Thirlby repeatedly pulled him by the sleeve, to make him desist, and had obtained a promise from him to use Cranmer with reverence. The Archbishop submitted calmly to all, saying, he

had done with this gear long ago: but he held the crosier fast; and instead of yielding it, delivered a paper, containing his appeal to a General Council. He was then drest in a yeoman's threadbare gown and a townsman's cap, and sent back to prison.

He was now dealt with very differently from any of the former sufferers; for he was removed to the house of the Dean of Christ Church, and treated there rather as a guest than a prisoner, with every possible indulgence, and with every mark of real, or pretended, regard; some, perhaps, acting from sincere attachment to him, others in the hope of prevailing upon a mind which was naturally timid. That they succeeded, is certain; but it is doubtful to what extent. The probability is, that he signed an equivocal recantation; and that the other papers, five in number, wherein he was made to acknowledge, in the most explicit terms, the doctrines which he had repeatedly confuted, and to vilify himself as a mischief-maker and blasphemer, were fabricated by Bonner's directions. The circumstances are altogether suspicious, as well as perplexed; and nothing appears certain, but that he submitted, under a promise that his life should be spared, and that he should pass it, if he did not wish for wealth or dignity, in a private station, and wherever he listed. That, after

this, it should have been determined, not only to put him to death, but to make him suffer the extreme rigour of their accursed laws, and burn him alive, was a cruelty beyond that of the Inquisition itself; the victims of that tribunal, who suffered as confessing and repenting of their opinions, being always strangled before they were burnt. This cruelty is imputed to the Queen's implacable resentment against him, for the part which he had taken in her mother's divorce: but in this, as in all the cruelties of this inhuman reign, Cardinal Pole is implicated; his principle was, that no thieves, no murderers, were so pernicious to the commonwealth as heretics; that no treason was to be compared to theirs, and that they were to be rooted up, like brambles and briers, and cast into the fire. No persecution was ever begun with a more determined resolution of going through with it: upon this subject, there was no vacillation in the Queen's counsels. But in the case of Cranmer, the object of persecution had been obtained, and the plainest policy was disregarded, for the sake of gratifying a vindictive temper. Never did malice more signally confound itself.

It appears that Cranmer was not informed of the determination concerning him, even on the morning when he was to suffer; but many circumstances made him apprehend that his death

was intended, and he had prepared accordingly. About nine in the morning he was taken from Bocardo to St. Mary's church, where the sermon, which would otherwise have been preached at the place of execution, was to be delivered, because it was a day of heavy rain. The Mayor and Aldermen went first, then Cranmer between two Friars, who chanted psalms as they went, till they came to the church door; there they began the *Nunc Dimittis*, and then brought him to a stage in front of the pulpit, raised at such a height from the ground that all the assembly might see him. The Lord Williams, and the other persons of authority who had been ordered to attend the execution, were present with their armed retinue, and the church was crowded, . . . the Romanists coming in the hope that Cranmer would proclaim his own conversion to their doctrines. They who were Protestants at heart, in the better belief, that "he who, by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the Gospel, would not, in the last act of his life, forsake his post." A Romanist, who was present, and who thought that his former life and wretched end deserved a greater misery, if greater had been possible, was yet, in spite of his heart-hardening opinions, touched with compassion at beholding him in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed with an old

square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men. "I think," said he, "there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed not his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long-continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life." When he had ascended the stage, he knelt and prayed, weeping so profusely, that many, even of the Papists, were moved to tears.

Cole, who preached the sermon, began by dwelling upon the mercy of God, and from that theme, with the preposterous logic of his Church, proceeded to show how necessary it was, for that justice by which the Almighty's mercy is tempered, that Cranmer should be burnt alive. The Queen and Council had thus determined, notwithstanding pardon and reconciliation were due to him according to the canons, for three especial reasons; first, for the part he had taken in the divorce; secondly, because he had been the author and only fountain of those heretical doctrines which had so long prevailed; and thirdly, because "it seemed meet, that as the death of Northumberland made even with Sir Thomas More, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher of Rochester; and because Ridley, Hooper, and Ferrar, were not sufficient,

it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up this part of equality." He exhorted the auditors to note by this example, that the Queen would spare no man in this cause, whatever might be his rank or character. Finally, he comforted Cranmer, exhorted him to take his death patiently, and promised him, in the name of all the clergy present, that, immediately after his death, dirges, masses, and funeral service, should be performed in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soul.

"Cranmer in all this meantime," (they are the words of good John Fox,) "with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shews of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down from his fatherly face. Those which were present testify that they never saw, in any child, more tears than brast out from him at that time. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears, in an old man of so reverend dignity." Withal he

ever retained "a quiet and grave behaviour." In this hour of utter humiliation and severe repentance, he possessed his soul in patience. Never had his mind been more clear and collected, never had his heart been so strong.

When the sermon was ended, the preacher desired all the people to pray for the sufferer. They knelt accordingly, and Cranmer knelt with them, praying fervently for himself. "I think," says the Catholic spectator, "there was never such a number so earnestly praying together. For they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance. They that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side." Cole then addressed them, saying, "Brethren, lest any one should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand you are a Catholic indeed." "I will do it," replied Cranmer, "and that with a good will."

He rose then from his knees, and, putting off his cap, said, "Good christian people, my dearly-

beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But among all the rest, there is one which grieveth my conscience most of all, whereof you shall hear more in its proper place." Then, drawing forth from his bosom a prayer which he had prepared for this occasion, he knelt and said, "O Father of Heaven! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, three Persons in one God! have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner! I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express; whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To Thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to Thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy! The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to Thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy! have mercy

upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy! I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name-sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name!"

No prayer had ever been composed and uttered in deeper misery, nor with more earnest and devout contrition. Rising then, he addressed the spectators, not hurrying impatiently to his purpose, but calmly and deliberately. "Every man, good people," said he, "desireth, at the time of his death, to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified and you edified." He exhorted them not to set their minds over-much upon this glozing world, but upon the world to come; and to obey the King and Queen willingly and gladly, not for fear of men only, but much more for the fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed to rule and govern, and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God. And he entreated them to love one another. "Bear well away," said he, "this one lesson, to do good unto all men as much as in you lieth; and to hurt

no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him,...surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour." Lastly, he exhorted the rich to make a proper use of the wealth with which they were intrusted.

Well aware how little he should be allowed to speak when he came to the point, he still proceeded with a caution which it would have been impossible to have observed thus to the last, if he had not attained to the most perfect self-possession in this trying hour. "And now," he pursued, "forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell; (and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up!) I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past." He then repeated the Apostle's creed, and declared his belief in every article of the Catholic

faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour, his Apostles, and Prophets, and in the New and Old Testament.

"And now," he continued, "I come to the great thing which troubleth my conscience more than any thing that ever I said or did in my whole life, and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for may I come to the fire, it shall be first burnt!" He had time to add, "As for the Pope, I refuse him as Antichrist; and as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement of God, when the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face." The Papists were at first too much astonished to interrupt him. Lord Williams bade him remember himself, and play the Christian-man; he an-

swered, that he did so, for now he spake truth: and when he was reproached for falsehood and dissimulation, the meek martyr made answer, "Ah, my masters, do not you take it so! Always hitherto I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled!" and with that he wept again. But when he would have spoken more, the Romanists made an uproar, and Cole said from the pulpit, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away!

Cranmer was now pulled down from the stage, and carried to the stake, surrounded by Priests and Friars, who, with promises of heaven and threats of everlasting torments, called upon him to renounce errors by which he would otherwise draw innumerable souls into hell with him. They brought him to the spot where Latimer and Ridley had suffered. He had overcome the weakness of his nature; and, after a short prayer, put off his clothes with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, and stood upright in his shirt, which came down to his feet. His feet were bare; his head, when both his caps were off, appeared perfectly bald, but his beard was long and thick, and his countenance so venerable, that it moved even his enemies to compassion. Two Spanish Friars, who had been chiefly instrumental in obtaining his recantation, con-

tinued to exhort him; till, perceiving that their efforts were vain, one of them said, Let us leave him, for the devil is with him! Ely, who was afterwards President of St. John's, still continued urging him to repentance. Cranmer replied, he repented his recantation; and in the spirit of charity offered his hand to Ely, as to others, when he bade him farewell; but the obdurate bigot drew back, and reproved those who had accepted such a farewell, telling them it was not lawful to act thus with one who had relapsed into heresy. Once more he called upon him to stand to his recantation. Cranmer stretched forth his right arm, and replied, "This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall suffer punishment first."

True to this purpose, as soon as the flame rose, he held his hand out to meet it, and retained it there steadfastly, so that all the people saw it sensibly burning before the fire reached any other part of his body; and often he repeated with a loud and firm voice, "This hand hath offended! this unworthy right hand!" Never did martyr endure the fire with more invincible resolution; no cry was heard from him, save the exclamation of the protomartyr Stephen, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! He stood immovable as the stake to which he was bound, his countenance raised, looking to heaven, and anticipating

that rest into which he was about to enter; and thus, "in the greatness of the flame," he yielded up his spirit. The fire did its work soon, . . . and his heart was found unconsumed amid the ashes.

Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution, this was in all its circumstances the most injurious to the Romish cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice toward one who had borne his elevation with almost unexampled meekness. It effectually disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs proceeded not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom; but from vainglory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here: Cranmer had retracted; and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten. The agony of his repentance had been seen by thousands; and tens of thousands had witnessed how, when that agony was past, he stood calm and immovable amid the flames; a patient and willing holocaust; triumphant, not over his persecutors alone, but over himself, over the mind as well as the body, over fear, and weakness, and death.

The persecution continued with unabating rigour during the whole of this abominable reign; and the consequence was, that as the havoc which had been committed under pretext of the Reformation, made the people rejoice in the re-establishment of Popery, Popery was by these cruelties rendered an object of horror and hatred to the nation. Persons, whom neither books nor sermons would have reached, were converted to the Protestant faith by the constancy with which the martyrs suffered:... a subject, to which they would otherwise have remained indifferent, was forced upon their thoughts, and they felt that the principle could be of no light importance for which so many laid down their lives. The sight of Latimer's and Ridley's death produced such an effect upon Julius Palmer, who in Edward's reign had been expelled from Magdalen College as an obstinate Romanist, that he could not rest till he had searched the Scriptures to ascertain what were the grounds of the faith for which they suffered, and then openly professed it himself. "Thou art stout now and hardy in thine opinion," said one of his fellow-collegians, as they sat at table together, "but if thou wert brought to the stake thou wouldest tell another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire! it is a shrewd matter to burn." "Truly," said Palmer, "I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto,

thank God, I have escaped it; but I judge verily it will be my end at last; welcome be it! It is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more mastery to burn, than for me to eat this bread." Nor was this a vain confidence, for in the same spirit he suffered at the stake.

The sight of the Papists' cruelty in like manner made George Tankerfield misdoubt their conduct first, and then abhor it. He was sent to St. Alban's, there to be burnt in a field at the west end of the abbey. His execution was delayed till the afternoon, while the Sheriffs were at a marriage-feast! He meantime observed, that

> Although the day be never so long,
> At last it ringeth to even-song.

And he tried the fire in his chamber with his foot, to prove how the flesh could support it. When he came to the stake, the Mayor said that if he had but one load of fagots in the world, he would give them to burn this heretic. A knight who was present took him by the hand, and said, in a low tone of voice, "Good brother, be strong in Christ!" The martyr replied, "O, Sir, I thank you! I am so, I thank God." And when the

flames arose, he moved his arms as if he were bathing in them, and embracing his death; so that some of the more obdurate spectators observed, the devil was so strong in him, and in all such, that they could feel no pain.

Those whose hearts were too hard to comprehend a worthier reason, might well entertain this notion, so marvellous was the fortitude which the martyrs displayed. Sometimes they promised their friends that they would lift up their arms in the fire, and clap their hands, in token that the mind could be kept quiet and patient through their torments; and they * failed not to

* Robert Smith, one of the martyrs here alluded to, wrote several poems in prison. The following lines from that which he addressed to his children, are well worthy of preservation, the circumstances under which they were written giving them a deep interest.

——That ye may follow me, your father and your friend,
And enter into that same life which never shall have end,
I leave you here a little book for you to look upon,
That you may see your father's face when I am dead and gone:
Who, for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years in prison and in pain,
Where I among mine iron bands, enclosed in the dark,
Not many days before my death, did dedicate this work
To you, mine heirs of earthly things which I have left behind,
That ye may read, and understand, and keep it in your mind,
That as you have been heirs of that which once shall wear away,
Even so ye may possess the part which never shall decay.

give this promised assurance of triumphant faith. A young man who was martyred at Canterbury, George Roper was his name, extended his arms like an image on the cross, when the pile was kindled, and in that attitude held them till the last. Rawlins White, a poor Welsh fisherman, bow-bent with the infirmities of age, stood bolt upright when he approached the stake, as if he had already cast off the burthen of years. "I feel a fighting between the flesh and the spirit," said he to one of his friends; "and the flesh would very fain have his sway. Therefore, I pray you, if you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up, and I shall trust I shall remember myself." The memento was not needed, for the faith which brought him to this death, supported him in it. Another martyr, as the time of his martyrdom drew near, complained of a heaviness at heart, from which he could obtain no relief, though he was earnest day and night in prayer. The friend to whom he made this confession, exhorted him to play the man, seeing his cause was just and true, and not to doubt that the Lord would visit him in his good time, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation; and he be-

In following of your father's foot in faith, and eke in love,
That ye may also be his heirs for evermore above:
And in example to your youth, to whom I wish all good,
I preach you here a perfect faith, and seal it with my blood.

sought him, when any such sense of comfort touched his heart, to show some signification, that he might witness it. When they came in sight of the stake, the martyr clapped his hands exultingly, and cried out to him, "Austen, He is come! He is come!" and that "with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one passing out of the world by any pain of death."

The constancy of the martyrs, and the manifest sympathy of the people, provoked the persecutors to further cruelty. What they could not effect by the fear of death, they hoped to accomplish by torments in prison; their victims were fastened by the feet, hands, and neck, in the most painful postures; they were scourged and beaten, tortured with fire, and deprived of food. When Gardiner sent his alms-basket to the prison, he sent with it strict charge that not a scrap should be given to the heretics. The Catholic Princes had determined to root out what they called heresy by fire and sword. England and Spain were the only countries where they could as yet act upon this determination, and they pursued it in both to the uttermost, Cardinal Pole ordered registers to be kept of all persons who were reconciled to the Romish Church in every place and parish, that proceedings might be instituted

against all whose names were not entered there. Commissioners for Inquisition were appointed, with power to summon and examine any persons upon oath touching their faith, and to seize upon the property of all who did not appear to answer their interrogatories. The only measure wanting to perpetuate the spiritual bondage of the nation, was the establishment of one of those accursed tribunals which were at that time in full operation under the Spanish government; and this, in all likelihood, would have been done, if Mary's unhappy life had been prolonged. The same temper which encouraged the inquisition in Spain, and introduced it into the Netherlands, would have attempted its introduction here. The spirit of its laws had already been introduced; but the feelings of the country were opposed to this atrocious system. The secrets of the prison-house could not be concealed; everywhere the victims found some who commiserated them, and assisted them in communicating with their friends, even when they were fain to write their mournful letters with their own blood. And when the bodies of those who died in prison, either of natural disease, or in consequence of hunger and the torments inflicted on them, were cast out as carrion in the fields, all persons being forbidden to bury them, as soon as evening closed, they

were interred by pious hands, not without some form of devotion, the archers frequently standing by, and singing psalms.

During the four years that this persecution continued, it appears, by authentic records, that two hundred and eighty-eight persons were burnt alive; the number of those who perished in prison is unknown. The loss of property in London alone, consequent upon the arrest or flight of so many substantial citizens, and the general insecurity, was estimated at 300,000*l.*; nor was it in wealth alone that the kingdom suffered; the spirit of the nation sunk, and the character, and with it the prosperity, of the English would have been irrecoverably lost, if God in his mercy had not cut short this abominable tyranny. The Queen was supposed to be with child: humanly speaking, it seemed to depend upon the event whether England should become a Protestant or a Popish kingdom; and there was such a disposition in the Protestants not to believe what they so greatly dreaded to persuade themselves, that a supposititious child would be imposed upon them, that many were punished for uttering the opinion with which they were possessed. Provision was made by Parliament, that, in case of the Queen's death, Philip should take upon himself the rule, order, education, and government of the child; and prayers were ordered, that

as God, by his servant Mary, had delivered the people out of the hands of heretics and infidels, so he would complete the work by blessing her with a safe delivery, and with a male child. Upon a report of her delivery, the bells rung and processions were made, and public rejoicings were made at Antwerp. But those appearances which had so far deceived the Queen herself, that the cradle was made ready, proved to be the indications of a mortal disease.

Not a week before her death, three women and two men were burnt at Canterbury. Certain circumstances rendered this last *auto-da-fé* remarkable. John Corneford, one of the victims, when the sentence of excommunication was pronounced upon him and his stake-fellows, boldly retorted it upon his persecutors. "In the name of our Lord," said the courageous martyr, "and by the power of his Holy Spirit, we do here give into the hands of Satan, to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers who condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false Church, or feigned religion; so that by this thy just judgement, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known, to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it. Amen!" It is not surprising that the Protestants believed this imprecation to have

taken effect against their enemy, when, "within six days after, Queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English Papists with her." These martyrs seem to have expected this desirable end, when they made it part of their prayers before they suffered, that their blood might be the last that should be shed. One of them, a young unmarried woman, called at the stake for her godfather and godmothers, who, by the presiding magistrate's orders, were sent for accordingly. When they came, she asked them what they had promised for her at her baptism; and, repeating the Commandments and the Creed, demanded if they had engaged in her behalf that she should believe more than this? They answered, that they had not. "Then," said she, "I die a christian woman! Bear witness of me!"

The sacrifice of these victims is imputed to the individual cruelty of Harpsfield, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, a person as conspicuous among the persecutors at that time, as he was afterwards among the writers in defence of the Papal cause. He hurried on this execution, when such abominable cruelties were in other places suspended, because the Queen's death was daily looked for. That event was not regretted, even by the Catholics, except by such as Harpsfield, and Story, and Bonner. "Melancholic in mind," (so she is described,) "unhealthful in body, little feared of

her foreign foes, less beloved by her native subjects; not over-dear to her own husband, unsuccessful in her treaties for peace, and unfortunate in her undertakings for war," Queen Mary left none to lament her, and there was not even the semblance of sorrow for her loss. She died in the morning; in the afternoon the bells of all the churches in London were rung for the accession of Elizabeth, and at night bonfires were made, and tables set out in the streets, at which the citizens caroused.

CHAPTER XV.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The first act of the new Queen was to take Sir William Cecil into her council, and appoint him her principal Secretary; and of such consequence was the pulpit at this crisis, that one of the first objects of his attention was "to consider the condition of the preacher at Paul's Cross," and prevent any question concerning the governance of the realm from being touched upon there. The people had not been so ready to restore the Romish religion at Mary's accession, as they were now to escape from its intolerable yoke. When the Queen made her public entrance, a pageant was prepared in Cheapside, where Time accosted her, leading in his hand his daughter Truth, and Truth presented her with the English Bible, upon which was written, *Verbum Veritatis* Elizabeth kissed the book, held it up with both her hands, and then laid it reverently upon her breast, to the joy of the beholders.

Elizabeth's life had been in imminent danger during her sister's reign. "It would make a

pitiful and strange story," says Holinshed, "to recite what examinations and rackings of poor men there were to find out that knife which should cut her throat; what gaping among my Lords of the Clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their white rockets in her innocent blood, but especially Stephen Gardiner." Philip's interference saved her life; but when she was committed to the custody of Sir Henry Beningfield, at Woodstock, the unworthy Knight treated her with such severity, using his office, it is said, more like a jailer than a gentleman, that the Princess, hearing a milkmaid one day sing cheerfully in the fields, wished herself in the same humble condition of life, so she might enjoy the same liberty and safety. She now manifested her resentment of this treatment no otherwise than by discharging Sir Henry from the Court, saying, "God forgive you that is past, and we do; and if we have any prisoner whom we would have hardly handled and straitly kept, then we will send for you." On the way to her coronation she expressed a due sense of the danger from which she had been preserved, in this prayer, "O Lord, almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast been so merciful unto me, as to spare me to behold this joyful day! And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me,

as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant Daniel, thy Prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the den, from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions. Even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered. To thee, therefore, only, be thanks, honour, and praise, for ever. Amen!"

St. Paul's Cross was supplied with a safe preacher in the person of Dr. Bill, the Queen's chaplain and almoner. The necessity of this precaution appeared when White, the Bishop of Winchester, preached the late Queen's funeral sermon. He extolled her because, having found the realm poisoned with heresy, she had purged it; and "remembering herself to be a member of Christ's Church, refused to write herself head thereof. To be born in Christ's Church," he said, "and not abide therein is horrible, execrable, cursed, and damnable . . . I was regenerate, and, by a solemn vow, became a member of Christ's Catholic Church; and have since divided myself from the unity thereof, and am become a member of the new Church of Geneva. Reformed by penance, I am now relapsed again to sin. Mark my end...and what shall become of me? I shall in the end be damned everlastingly." Touching those who died in heresy, "it shall suffice me to say," said he, "and you to know, that they be in pain, in dolour, in ire, in fire, in darkness and horror; the indigna-

tion, the scourge, the vengeance of God, with confusion and damnation everlasting, is poured on them: neither have they qualification of pain, nor intermission of time, nor hope of end." And, speaking of the duty of those in his calling, he said, "Being by God appointed to keep watch and ward upon the walls, if they see the wolf toward the flock, (as at this present I warn you the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany, and have sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people,)... if the Bishops, I say, and the ministers, in this case, should not give warning, neither withstand and resist, but, for fear or flattery with the world, forsake their places, and thereby give occasion to the wolf to enter, then should the blood of the people be required at their hands."

The Bishop was ordered to keep his house for the offence he had given by this sermon. The restraint was not continued long; and having been brought before the Lords of the Council, and admonished by them, he was released. The cruelties of the preceding reign were regarded with abhorrence by all, except those who had been instrumental in them; and, from principle not less than policy, Elizabeth had resolved to proceed mildly and temperately, as well as firmly, in establishing the reformed church. For

this reason, and because the Romanists preached seditiously, and the eager Reformers encouraged by their discourses the disposition of the people to outrun the law, and demolish images and altars, all preaching was forbidden for a time; and if any should be bold enough to disregard the proclamation, all persons were forbidden to hear them, till the Queen and the three estates in Parliament should have consulted for the reconcilement of matters of religion.

When the Bill for restoring the supremacy to the Crown was debated in Parliament, it was opposed by the Bishops. Heath said, that as concerning temporal government, the House could give her Highness no further authority than she already had by right and inheritance, not by their gift, but by the appointment of God, she being their sovereign Lord and Lady, their King and Queen, their Emperor and Empress. But spiritual government they could not grant, neither could she receive. "If," said he, "by relinquishing the See of Rome, there were none other matter than a withdrawing of our obedience from the Pope's person, Paul IV., which hath declared himself to be a very austere stern father unto us ever since his first entrance into Peter's chair, then the cause were not of such great importance; . . . but by forsaking that See, we must forsake the unity of Christ's Church,

and by leaping out of Peter's ship, hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schism, sects, and divisions." The Bishop of Chester, speaking upon the same subject, asked of whom those men, who in this and other points dissented from the Catholic Church, learned their doctrine? "They must needs answer," said he, "that they learned it of the Germans. Of whom did the Germans learn it? Of Luther. Well, then, of whom did Luther learn it? He shall answer himself: he saith, that such things as he teacheth against the Mass and the blessed sacrament of the Altar, he learned of Satan the Devil, at whose hands it is like he did also receive the rest of his doctrines... So that we may be bold to stand in our doctrine against our adversaries, seeing that theirs is not yet fifty years old, and ours above fifteen hundred. They have, for authority and commendation of their religion, Luther and his schoolmaster beforementioned; we have for ours, St. Peter and his master Christ." The same prelate made an unlucky speech against the Bill for restoring the reformed Liturgy. "Christian charity," he said, "was taken away by it, in that the unity of the Church was broken;" and, proceeding more unhappily, he said, "It is no money matter, but a matter of inheritance...yea, a matter touching life and death; and damnation dependeth upon

it. Here is it set before us, as the Scripture saith, Life and death, fire and water. If we put our hand into the one, we shall live; if it take hold of the other, we shall die. Now, to discern which is life, and which is death, which is fire that will burn, and which is water that will refresh and comfort us, is a great matter, and not easily perceived of every man." It required a front of brass to have ventured upon such a metaphor, while the *autos-da-fé* of the Marian persecution were fresh in remembrance.

The infamous persecutor, Story, went beyond this in the House of Commons. He boasted of the part he had taken, related with exultation how he had thrown a fagot in the face of an earwig, as he called him, who was singing psalms at the stake, and how he had thrust a thornbush under his feet to prick him: wished that he had done more; and said he only regretted that they should have laboured at the young and little twigs, when they ought to have struck at the root,...words by which it was understood that he meant the Queen. Even this treasonable insolence did not provoke the Government to depart from the temperate course which it had laid down. A public disputation was appointed, not, as in Mary's reign, to be concluded by burning those who differed in opinion from the ruling party, but with full liberty of speech, and perfect

safety, for the Romish disputants. Upon Heath's motion, the Queen ordered that it should be managed in writing, as the best means for avoiding vain altercation: but when it came to the point, the Romanists, upon some difference concerning the manner of disputing, refused to dispute at all. For this contempt of the Privy Council, in whose presence they had met, they were fined. The truth was, that if they had been more confident in their own cause, they deemed it not allowable to bring such points in question before such judges. They seem to have presumed upon the insecurity of the Queen's government, and upon her tolerant disposition. In the latter they were not deceived. Odious as the persecutors were, and in many respects amenable to the laws, she suffered no vindictive measures to be taken against them; and the strongest mark which she manifested of her own displeasure, was in refusing to let Bonner kiss her hand. The Archbishop of York had refused to perform the ceremony of crowning her, because she forbade the host to be elevated in her presence; it was his office, Cardinal Pole having died a few hours after Queen Mary. All the other Bishops, in like manner, refused, except Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, giving in this the most audacious proof of determined disobedience.

But Elizabeth did not suffer herself to be

moved, even by a just resentment, from the course of conduct which she thought best. When she was advised to punish these dangerous subjects, she replied, "Let us not follow our sister's example, but rather show that our reformation tendeth to peace, and not to cruelty." She summoned them, with the other heads of the Clergy, and required them, in pursuance of the laws recently made for religion, and for restoring to the Crown its ancient right of supremacy, to take into serious consideration the affairs of the Church, and expel from it all schisms and superstitions. Heath answered, in the name of his brethren, by entreating her to call to mind the covenants between her sister and the holy See, wherein she had promised to depress heresy, binding herself and her successors, and her kingdom, to accomplish it, under pain of perpetual ignominy and a curse. The Queen made answer, that it lay not in her sister's power to bind her and her realms to an usurped authority; that as Joshua declared, I and my house will serve the Lord, so she and her realm were resolved to serve Him; and that she would esteem all her subjects as enemies to God and to her, who should own the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome. Without delay she then deprived the refractory Bishops, Kitchen of Landaff being the only one who conformed. There were but four-

teen living, many having died in the great mortality at the close of the preceding reign. The survivors deceived themselves. They thought they had done the work of persecution so effectually, by taking off the heads of the reformed Clergy, that the Queen could not displace them, because she could not possibly supply their places. They knew not how many most able and excellent men had escaped their vengeance, and employed their years of exile or concealment in the severe study of divinity: "men," says a writer of that age, "who, coming forth of affliction and evils, were looked upon with contempt by the Romanists; simple men, without pontifical ornaments to set them out, but eminent for the integrity of their lives, the gravity of their behaviour, the greatness of their spirits, and finally, for their diligent search and accurate knowledge of Scripture, councils, orthodox fathers, and all ecclesiastical antiquity."

The vacant sees were filled by Parker, Grindal, Cox, Sands, Jewel, Parkhurst, Pilkington, and others; men worthy to be held in lasting remembrance and honour, who had either escaped, during the Marian persecution, by retiring to the Continent, or secreting themselves at home. It had been one chief cause of consolation to the martyrs, to think that so many of their brethren were safe, reserved, as they doubted not, for this

great work. "Since there be in those parts with you, of students and ministers so good a number," said Ridley, writing from his prison to Grindal at Frankfort, "now, therefore, care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other; but when it shall please God to say, Come!) you, blessed be God, are enow, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England." Gardiner had exerted his utmost vigilance to cut off all their supplies from home, vowing that he would make them eat their own nails for very hunger, and then feed on their finger's ends. But this was more than he was able to effect. They still communicated with their friends, and received assistance from them; and they met with exemplary hospitality in the reformed countries, more especially in Switzerland. Ridley's prophetic hope was now fulfilled. Three of the Protestant bishops returned from exile; ... Barlow, who, having been one of the first and ablest writers in this country against the Lutherans, saw reason afterwards to adopt their tenets in all things reasonable, and remained constant to them through evil and through good; Scory, and good old Miles Coverdale. By their hands Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. This excellent Prelate had been

Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyne, who, a little before her death, particularly commended her daughter Elizabeth to his care, "that she might not want his pious and wise counsel." His religious opinions he had imbibed from Bilney and Barnes; and his exemplary courage had been manifested during the Norfolk rebellion; when, at the imminent risk of his life, he preached to the rebels, from their own Oak of Reformation, upon the guilt and madness of their proceedings. Ridley, in inviting him to preach at St. Paul's Cross, (the post of honour in those days,) thus touched upon his qualifications: "I may have, if I would call without any choice, enow: but in some, alas, I desire more learning; in some a better judgement; in some more virtue and godly conversation; and in some more soberness and discretion. And he in whom all these do meet, shall not do well to refuse, in my judgement, to serve God in that place." During Mary's reign he had been deprived of his preferments, and was in great personal danger, living in concealment; strict search was made for him; and, in flying by night, he received a hurt by a fall from his horse, from which he never thoroughly recovered. He was now in the fifty-fourth year of his age, when Cecil and Sir Nicolas Bacon fixed upon him as the fittest man for the Primacy at this important time. Parker, with unaffected humility, sought

to decline this great promotion, pleading, among other reasons for excuse, the injury which he had received in his fall. He told Bacon, on whose friendship he relied, that his wish was, to be enabled, by the revenue of some prebend without charge of cure, to occupy himself in dispensing God's word among the poor simple strayed sheep of God's fold in poor destitute parishes and cures; more meet, he said, for his decayed voice and small quality, than in theatrical and great audiences. Or that he might be stationed in the university, the state whereof was miserable, and where, if any where, he might perhaps do service, having long acquaintance and some experience in its affairs. And he entreated Bacon either to help that he might be quite forgotten, or so appointed, as not to be entangled with the concourse of the world in any public state of living. He prayed that their choice might neither light on an arrogant man, nor a faint-hearted, nor a covetous one: the first, he said, would sit in his own light, and discourage his fellows; the second would be too weak to commune with the adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusillanimity; and the third would not be worth his bread." But Elizabeth's wise ministers knew Parker's worth, and would admit of no excuse.

The Lord Keeper Bacon, at the dissolution of the first Parliament, spoke of the enemies to the

religion now re-established: "Among these," he said, "he comprehended as well those that were too swift, as those that were too slow; those that went before the law, or behind the law, as those who would not follow: for good government could not be where obedience failed, and both these alike broke the rule of obedience. These were they that, in all likelihood, would be the beginners and maintainers of factions and sects; the very mothers and nurses of all seditions and tumults. Of these, therefore, great heed should be taken; and upon their being found, sharp and severe corrections imposed, according to the order of law; and that without respect of persons, as upon the greatest adversaries to unity and concord, without which no commonwealth could long endure." The immediate danger was from the Romanists. But their policy at this time accorded, fortunately, with the views of the Government; for when it was perceived how well and easily the places of the deposed Bishops had been supplied, the party changed their system, and determined to retain what benefices they held, at the expense of outward conformity, thinking the best service which they could render to the Papal cause, was to keep possession of their posts, in the hope and expectation of better times. The double purpose would thus be answered, of keeping Protestant ministers out, and secretly fos-

tering in their parishioners a predilection for the old superstitions; and their policy was by this means reconciled with their interest.

With such unanimity did they act upon this deceitful system, that of 9400 beneficed Clergy, only 177 resigned their preferment, rather than acknowledge the Queen's supremacy. So far as the great majority were influenced by selfish considerations, their object was answered, but as a politic measure, never were men more egregiously mistaken; and this they discovered when too late. It was a most important object for Government to bring about the great change in the quietest manner, with as little injury as possible to individuals, and as little offence to the feelings, and even prejudices, of the people. For this reason, the supplication, saying "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us!" which was part of the Litany in the Liturgy of Edward's reign, was expunged now. For the same reason, it was enjoined, that the sacramental bread should be continued in the form of wafers; and the language of the article which affirmed a real presence, was so framed as to allow latitude of belief for those who were persuaded of an exclusive one. The effect was an almost general conformity, on the part of the Romanists, without doubt or scruple, concerning

the propriety of so conforming; till to their own great misfortune, and that of the country, they were required by the Papal Court to pursue a different course.

Heath, Bonner, Turberville, and two of the other deprived Bishops, thought it their duty to address a letter to the Queen, entreating her to listen to them, rather than to those evil counsellors who were leading her astray. Her ancestors, they reminded her, had duly and reverently observed the ancient Catholic faith, till by heretical and schismatical advisers, her father was first withdrawn, and then her brother; "after whose decease," said they, "your virtuous sister, Queen Mary, of happy memory, succeeded: who, being troubled in conscience with what her father's and her brother's advisers had caused them to do, most piously restored the Catholic faith, by establishing the same again; as also by extinguishing the schisms and heresies, which at that time began to flame over her territories, for which God poured out his wrath upon most of the malefactors and misleaders of the nation." Elizabeth replied to this letter instantly; she denied their assertion that Christianity had been first planted in this kingdom by the Romish Church; and she answered the remarks upon her father's having listened to heretical advisers, by cutting personalities. "Who, we pray, ad-

vised him more, or flattered him, than you, good Mr. Heath, when you were Bishop of Rochester? And than you, Mr. Bonner, when you were Archdeacon? And you, Mr. Turberville? Nay, farther, who was more an adviser of our father, than your great Stephen Gardiner when he lived? Recollect: was it our sister's conscience made her so averse to our father's and brother's actions, as to undo what they had perfected? Or was it not you, or such like advisers, that dissuaded her, and stirred her up against us, and other of her subjects? We give you warning," she concluded, "that for the future, we hear no more of this kind, lest you provoke us to execute those penalties enacted for the punishment of our resisters, which out of our clemency we have forborn."

The Queen was contented with thus reprimanding them, though the manner in which they spoke of the atrocities of the last reign might well have justified some stronger mark of displeasure. But when it appeared that some of these Bishops preached against the new order of things, and encouraged a seditious spirit in those who flocked to them, (White and Watson venturing even to threaten the Queen with excommunication,) it was found necessary to place them under some degree of restraint. Heath, after a short confinement in the Tower, was allowed to

reside upon his own lordship of Cobham, merely upon giving security that he would not interfere with state affairs, or interrupt the laws. Elizabeth always esteemed him, and sometimes visited him in his old age. Oglethorpe died almost immediately after the coronation. Tonstal and Thirlby were both committed to the gentle custody of Parker; instead of being confined in his coal-house, they lived at his table, and were treated by him as honourable guests. Shame, rather than conviction, seems to have kept them from conforming; for Tonstal was avowedly more than half a Protestant, and Thirlby had acted with better faith, when he co-operated with Cranmer, than when Bonner was his bloody associate. Bonner was committed to the Marshalsea, where he had the use of the garden and orchards, and lived as he liked, without any other privation than that of liberty; for though he was allowed to go abroad, he dared not, because of the hatred of the people. He never betrayed the slightest shame or compunction for the cruelties which he had committed, but maintained to the last, the same coarse and insolent temper; indeed, it was rumoured and believed, that he looked for no life but the present, and therefore had no hope or fear beyond it. Three of the ex-bishops withdrew to the continent. The others lived unmolested, and died at large, except Wat-

son, always a morose, and latterly a dangerous man, whom it was deemed necessary to commit to close prison, when the Romanists began their treasonable practices.

It was now the Romanists' turn to plead conscience, and argue that gentle usage ought to be afforded to those whose only offence consisted in a difference of opinion upon religious subjects. The Emperor, and other Catholic princes, wrote to the Queen in behalf of the ejected Clergy, requesting that they might be mercifully dealt withal, and that churches might be allowed to the Papists in all the cities and chief towns. The way to have obtained this, would have been to have given an example in their own dominions of the clemency and toleration which th erequired. Elizabeth answered, that though these Popish Clergy insolently and openly opposed the laws and the peace of the realm, and wilfully rejected the doctrines which they themselves had preached under the Kings Henry and Edward, she was dealing and would deal favourably with them; albeit not without some offence to her subjects, seeing how cruelly these men had acted toward the Protestants in her sister's reign. But to grant them churches would be against the laws of her Parliament, and highly dangerous to the state of her kingdom. It would be to sow various religions in the realm, to distract good

people's minds, to cherish parties and factions, and to disturb religion and the commonwealth in that quiet state wherein it then was;...a thing evil in itself, and in example worse; to her own good subjects hurtful, and neither greatly commodious nor safe unto those for whom it was asked.

The Queen had recalled the English resident from Rome, but the Pope ordered him, on pain of excommunication, not to leave the city, and to take upon himself the government of the English hospital there. The order was believed to be in conformity with the resident's wishes, and given to prevent him from apprizing his government of the secret practices of the French against Elizabeth. Pius IV. soon succeeded to the Papacy, and on his accession, despatched a nuncio to England with secret instructions, and a conciliatory letter. He entreated the Queen, as his most dear daughter, that, rejecting those counsellors, who loved themselves, not her, and served their own designs, she would take the fear of God to counsel, and acknowledge the time of her visitation. In that case, he promised to confirm her royal dignity, according to the authority and functions committed to him by God; told her that he would receive her with the same love, honour, and rejoicings, as the father in the Gospel had received the prodigal

son; and that by so doing, she would not only fill the whole church with rejoicings, but even heaven itself. The secret articles were reported to be, that he would annul the sentence against her mother's marriage, allow the use of the cup to the English, and confirm the English liturgy. But Elizabeth had chosen the better part; and the nuncio, while on his way, was informed that he could not be permitted to set foot in England.

The Reformation had divided Europe into two great parties, but providentially at this time there was a rooted enmity between the two great Catholic kingdoms of France and Spain; and this contributed essentially to Elizabeth's preservation during the first years of her reign. Mary, the Queen of Scotland, and, at that time, wife of the Dauphin, always a dangerous rival, would then have been a most formidable one, if Elizabeth had not been both secretly and openly supported by the Spanish court. The King of France claimed the kingdom for his son, in Mary's right; they quartered the arms of England with those of Scotland and France, and urged the Pope to pronounce Elizabeth illegitimate and heretical, and to declare Mary the lawful Queen. Philip's influence prevented this. Henri's death delivered England from a treacherous and powerful enemy; the French, by their impolitic conduct in Scotland, gave Elizabeth

just cause for taking part with the Protestants in that country; and when Mary, being left a widow, returned there, her own situation was so beset with difficulties and troubles, that she had little power, and less leisure, for tampering with the English mal-contents. But from the time when Mary, seeking an asylum in England, was made a prisoner there, she became a point of hope, as well as an object of commiseration, to the English Catholics; and she was more formidable to Elizabeth in her state of bondage, than if she had continued Queen of France.

Two persons so circumstanced with regard to each other, as the Queens of England and Scotland, must have been mortal enemies, unless they had been women of saintly piety and virtue. Both were endowed with extraordinary talents, and in the natural dispositions of both, it is probable, that the better qualities greatly preponderated. But they were so situated, that it was scarcely possible for them to think or act justly towards each other. Mary, as a Catholic, believed Elizabeth to be illegitimate, and therefore thought herself entitled to the crown of England. The Romanists, and especially the powerful family of the Guises, to which she was related, acted openly upon the principle, that all measures were allowable against the enemies of the Romish Church: and even if this had not been

the system of the Romanists in that age, Mary might have felt herself justified in using any means for delivering herself from an unjust captivity. If we may not infer from history that the most generous policy is in all cases the best, this at least may be affirmed, that in a state of society, where right principles of morality are acknowledged, and public opinion is of any weight, no policy which has even the semblance of injustice can be good. Elizabeth would have better consulted her own safety and honour by sending Mary to France, than by detaining her in durance. Yet it must be remembered, that many circumstances seemed to render her detention essential for the welfare both of her own kingdom and this; that Burleigh, by whose advice Elizabeth acted, was not only a profound statesman, but also a virtuous and religious man; and that the accession of Mary to the English throne would certainly have been followed by a second Marian persecution.*

The hopes of the English Romanists for what they called a golden day, were kept up by false prophecies, and by the intrigues both of the

* Hall, a conforming Papist, who was ejected from the wardenship of Merton College, in 1562, writes thus to one of his Catholic friends abroad:—"*Frigent apud nos hæretici; sed spero eos aliquando fervescere, sicut olim vidimis archihæreticos in fossâ illâ suburbanâ, ubi Vulcano traditi fuerunt.*"

French and Spaniards. An insurrection, in which the Scotch Catholics were to have joined, and which Alva had promised to aid with troops from the Netherlands, broke out in the North, but was easily suppressed; and the Pope, who had hitherto in secret fomented disaffection and encouraged plots, now openly called upon the English Romanists to rebel. Pius V., the servant of the servants of God, "being," he said, "as Peter's successor, prince over all people, and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build, publicly excommunicated Elizabeth, whom he called the pretended Queen of England, and the servant of wickedness: seeing (he said) that impieties and wicked actions were multiplied through her instigation, he cut her off as a heretic, and favourer of heretics, from the unity of the body of Christ; deprived her of her pretended title to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity and privilege whatsoever; absolved all her subjects from their allegiance, forbade them to obey her, or her laws; and included all who should disregard this prohibition, in the same sentence of excommunication." A Catholic publicly set up this bull upon the Bishop of London's palace gates, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and made no attempt to escape. For this he was executed as a traitor. But the writers of

his own church extolled him as a martyr, and the Pope who issued the bull has been canonized.

It is certain, that the moderate Romanists in this country disapproved of what the Pope had done: but it is certain also, that it was in the spirit of the papal Church, and that throughout the Roman Catholic world no voice was raised against it. Hitherto the conduct of Elizabeth's government toward the Romanists had been tolerant and conciliatory, in accord with her own feelings, and with those of her statesmen and prelates; insomuch, that when the statute for establishing the supremacy was past, whereby they who refused the oath were punishable by forfeiture of goods and chattels for the first offence, made liable to the penalties of a *præmunire* for the second, and for the third, declared guilty of high treason, it was provided, that none but those who held ecclesiastical or civil offices should be required to take it; and the prelates were privately instructed by Parker, with the knowledge of Cecil and the Queen, not to offer the oath a second time. Severer statutes were now made necessary. It was made treasonable to deny that Elizabeth was the lawful sovereign; to affirm that she was an heretic, schismatic, or infidel; and to procure or introduce bulls or briefs from the Pope. Still the government continued its forbearance, till it was compelled to

regard its Catholic subjects with suspicion, and treat them with severity by the duty of self-preservation.

Let it be remembered, that the Romish Church had abated none of its pretensions, and corrected none of its abuses. Its audacity was never greater, its frauds never more numerous, its cruelties never more atrocious than at that time. If the horrors of Queen Mary's reign had not been fresh in remembrance, the character of that bloody Church would have been sufficiently displayed by the proceedings of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, then in full activity; and by the merciless persecution which had now driven the Dutch to assert their liberty in arms. What the Catholics were doing in those countries, they had done in this, and beyond all doubt would eagerly have done again, if the power had been once more in their hands. Persecution was their duty, if they believed in their own principles; it was enjoined by their highest authority, that of a general council, with the Pope at its head. In England, indeed, they pleaded for toleration, saying, that the attempt to force belief was repugnant to all laws; that no man can, or ought to be, constrained to take for certain what he holdeth for uncertain; that, for the love of God, it behoved us to forget and forgive all griefs, and love one another; and that when all was done,

to this we must come at last. Nothing could be more just than this argument, and nothing more contrary to their own practices. For they avowed the principle of intolerance wherever they had the power, and acted upon it without compunction to the utmost extent. Nothing in the Mexican or Carthaginian superstitions, (the two most horrible of the heathen world,) was ever more execrable than the persecutions exercised in Elizabeth's age, by the Romish Church, wherever it was dominant. The cruelty of Nero toward the Christians was imitated in Paris at the inauguration of Henri II.: as a part of the solemnity and of the rejoicings, Protestants were fastened to the stake in the principal streets, and the piles were kindled at such times, that the King might see the martyrs enveloped by the flames in their full force, at the moment when he should pass by! The parliament of Paris made a decree, declaring it lawful to kill Hugonots wherever they could be found; and they ordered this decree to be read every Sunday, in every parish church. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day completed the crimes of that guilty city, and made the perfidy of the Romish Church as notorious as its corruption and its inhumanity. The head of Coligny, after having been presented to the King and the Queen-mother, was embalmed and sent to Rome, that the Cardinal

of Lorraine and the Pope might have the satisfaction of beholding it. Public rejoicings were made at Rome for this accursed event. A solemn service of thanksgiving was performed, at which the Pope himself assisted; and medals were struck in honour of the most enormous crime with which the annals of the Christian world had ever been stained. That the blow might be the more fatal to the Protestant cause, the two sons of the Elector Palatine had been invited from Germany; and Leicester and Burleigh, as the chief supporters of that cause, from England;...either to be secured as prisoners, or involved in the massacre. Nor did the machinations of the Guises end there; with the evident intention of entrapping Elizabeth herself, she was solicited to meet the Queen-mother either on the seas, or in the island of Jersey; a proposal so gross, after such a proof of the most flagitious treachery, that Burleigh told the French embassador, his mistress could not have believed it had been made, if it had not been shown her in the letter from the Queen-mother herself. Upon this occasion, prayers were put up in England, not for the persecuted only, but for the persecutors. "Save them, O merciful Lord," was the language of our church, "who are as sheep appointed to the slaughter! Hear their cry, O Lord, and our prayers for them, and for our-

selves. Deliver those that be oppressed; defend those that be in fear of cruelty; relieve them that be in misery; and comfort all that be in sorrow and heaviness; that by thy aid and strength they and we may obtain surety from our enemies, without shedding of Christian and innocent blood. And for that, O Lord, thou hast commanded us to pray for our enemies, we do beseech thee, not only to abate their pride, and to stay the cruelty and fury of such as either of malice or ignorance do persecute them which put their trust in Thee, but also to mollify their hard hearts, to open their blind eyes, and to enlighten their ignorant minds, that they may see and understand, and truly turn unto Thee."

The disposition of the Government entirely accorded with this language. But it was now compelled to act with severity against those, who, under the influence of a religious principle, were engaged in political plots and treason. The Bull Papists, as those were called who approved all the measures of the Papal Court against the Queen, were undoubtedly at first a small minority. But the Popes allowed of no half-papists; they who were not with them, they considered as against them: and an end therefore was put to that occasional conformity, whereby the great body of the Catholics had hitherto satisfied the laws, without in any degree compromising their principles.

Allen, one of those Romanists, who, preferring their Church to their Country, had expatriated themselves, and who afterwards was raised to the rank of Cardinal, declared strongly against this conforming, which he called the very worst kind of hypocrisy; and he informed his English brethren, that the case had been laid before the Council of Trent, where a select number of Fathers had examined into it, and condemned the practice.

Had it not been for this interference, most of the Catholics would insensibly have passed over to the established religion; and those who adhered to the old faith, by continuing to deserve toleration, would, in no long time, have obtained it. Allen, whose opinion upon this question unhappily prevailed, was the author of another measure, not less injurious in its effects. As he was travelling to Rome, in company with Morgan Philips, who had been his tutor at Oriel, and with Veudeville, the Professor of Canon law at Douay, the latter happened to speak of a project for the relief of the Barbary slaves; this topic led Allen to lament his own country, as likely soon to fall into a worse slavery, when the old nonconforming Priests of Queen Mary's reign should have dropt off; there being neither provision nor prospect of any to supply their place. This led him to form the plan of a seminary, where En-

lish youths might be educated for the purpose of serving the Catholic faith in their own country. Philips subscribed the first money toward the purchase of a convenient house; and colleges were successively established at Douay, Rome, Valladolid, Seville, and St. Omer's; and, in the reign of James I. at Madrid, Louvain, Liege, and Ghent. The Spanish Court contributed largely to their endowment and support, and great resources were drawn from England, especially from those Catholics who possessed abbey lands. Douay College, which was transplanted to Rheims, and in about twenty years removed back to its original place, was under the management of secular priests, Allen himself being the first rector. The Jesuits soon obtained the direction of all the others; and the seminaries proved, what they were intended to be, so many nurseries for treason.

The Jesuits had risen up in the sixteenth century to perform for the Papal Church the same service which the Mendicant Orders had rendered in the twelfth. Their founder, like St. Francis, was in a state of religious insanity when he began his career; but he possessed, above all other men, the rare talent of detecting his own deficiencies, and remedying them by the most patient diligence. More politic heads aided him in the construction of his system: and they suc-

ceeded in forming a scheme perfectly adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. Under the appearance, and with the efficient unity and strength of an absolute monarchy, the Company was in reality always directed by a few of its ablest members. The most vigilant superintendence was exercised over all its parts, and yet, in acting for the general service, entire liberty was allowed to individual talents. For this reason, the Jesuits were exempted from all the stale and burthensome observances, wherein the other religioners consumed so large a portion of their time. They admitted no person into the society, unless they perceived in him some qualities which might be advantageously employed, and in their admirable economy every one found his appropriate place, except the refractory and the vicious. Such members were immediately expelled, ... the Company would not be disturbed with the trouble of punishing, or endeavouring to correct them. But where they found that devoted obedience, which was the prime qualification of a Jesuit, there was no variety of human character from the lowest to the loftiest intellect, which they did not know how to employ, and to the best advantage. They had domestic offices for the ignorant and lowly; the task of education was committed to expert and patient scholars; men of learning and research

and genius were left to follow the bent of their own happy inclinations; eloquent members were destined for the pulpit; and while their politicians managed the affairs of the society, and, by directing the consciences of kings and queens, and statesmen, directed, in fact, the government of Catholic kingdoms, enthusiasts and fanatics were despatched to preach the gospel among the heathen, or to pervert the Protestants. Some went to reclaim the savages of America, others, with less success, to civilize the barbarous Abyssinians, by reducing them to the Romish Church. And they who were ambitious of martyrdom were ordered to Japan, where the slow fire, and the more lingering death of the pit, were to be endured; or they went to England, which they called the European Japan, because, going thither as missionaries of a church which had pronounced the Queen an heretic and an usurper, and forbidden all her Catholic subjects to obey her, on pain of excommunication, they went to form conspiracies, and concert plans of rebellion, and therefore exposed themselves to death as traitors.

The founders of this famous society adapted their institution with excellent wisdom to the circumstances of their age; but they took the principles of the Romish Church as they found them, and thus engaged in the support and fur-

therance of a bad cause by wicked means. The whole odium of those means fell upon the Jesuits, not because they were the more guilty, but because they were the most conspicuous,...the Protestants, and especially the English, looking only at that order which produced their busiest and ablest enemies; and the Romanists dexterously shifting upon an envied, and therefore a hated, community, the reproach which properly belongs to their Popes, their Councils, and their universal Church. In England, indeed, no other religioners were so active; and this was because the celebrity of the order, as had been the case with every monastic order in its first age, attracted to it the most ardent and ambitious spirits. Young English Catholics of this temper eagerly took the fourth and peculiar vow, which placed them as Missionaries, at the absolute disposal of their Old Man of the Mountain. The Popes, at that time, had richly merited this title. For the principle of assassination was sanctioned by the two most powerful of the Catholic Kings, and by the head of the Catholic Church. It was acted upon in France and in Holland: rewards were publicly offered for the murder of the Prince of Orange; and the fanatics, who undertook to murder Elizabeth, were encouraged by a plenary remission of sins, granted for this special service.

Against the propagandists of such doctrine as

was contained in the Bull of Pius V., and inculcated in the seminaries, Elizabeth was compelled, for self-preservation, to proceed severely. They were sought for and executed, not for believing in transubstantiation, nor for performing Mass, but for teaching that the Queen of England ought to be deposed; that it was lawful to kill her; and that all Catholic subjects, who obeyed her commands, were cut off from the communion of their Church for so doing. "The very end and purpose of these Jesuits and seminary men," said the proclamation, "was not only to prepare sundry her Majesty's subjects, inclinable to disloyalty, to give aid to foreign invasions, and stir up rebellion, but also (that most perilous is) to deprive her Majesty (under whom, and by whose provident government, with God's assistance, these realms have been so long and so happily kept and continued in great plenty, peace, and security) of her life, crown, and dignity." "As far as concerns our society," said Campian the Jesuit, in an oration delivered at Douay, "we, all dispersed in great numbers through the world, have made a league and holy oath, that as long as any of us are alive, all our care and industry, all our deliberations and councils, shall never cease to trouble your calm and safety." The same enthusiast, when from his place of concealment, he addressed a letter to the Privy-Council,

defying the heads of the English Church to a disputation before the Queen and Council, repeated the threat. "Be it known unto you," he siad, "that we have made a league, all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England, cheerfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons. Expenses are reckoned: the enterprise is begun: it is of God: it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted. So it must be restored."

Campian and his fellow-sufferers acted up to the lofty spirit of this declaration. They died as martyrs, according to their own views, and as martyrs they were then regarded, and are still represented, by the Romanists. Certain, however, it is, that they suffered for points of State, and not of Faith: not as Roman Catholics, but as Bull-papists; not for religion, but for treason. Some of them are to be admired as men of genius and high endowments, as well as of heroic constancy: all to be lamented, as acting for an injurious purpose, under a mistaken sense of duty; but their sufferings belong to the history of papal politics, rather than of religious persecution. They succeeded in raising one rebellion, which

was easily suppressed, for Elizabeth was deservedly popular, and the Protestants had now become the great majority: but repeated conspiracies against the life of the Queen were detected; and such were the avowed principles and intentions of the Papists, wherever they dared avow them, that Walsingham expressed his fears of a Bartholomew breakfast, or a Florence banquet.

The object of all these conspiracies was to set the Queen of Scots upon the throne; this, the English Jesuits said, was the only means of reforming all Christendom, by reducing it to the Catholic faith; and they boasted that there were "more heads occupied upon it than English heads, and more ways to the wood than one." A book was written by a friend of Campian's, wherein the ladies who were about Elizabeth's person, were exhorted, after the example of Judith, to destroy her. Many of the Protestant nobles and gentry deemed the danger so great, that they formed an association, pledging themselves to prosecute to death, as far as lay in their power, all those who should attempt any thing against the Queen; and this was thought so necessary a measure, that Parliament followed the example. Mary was but too well justified in encouraging the plans which were formed for her deliverance and elevation; nor was it by the

sense of her own wrongs only that she was excited to this; a religious motive was superadded. She communicated with Alva, urging him, while her son was yet young, to devise means for conveying him out of Scotland into Spain, where he might be bred up in the Romish faith. When it was too late for this, and the scheme of marrying the Duke of Norfolk had ended in bringing him to the scaffold, a plan was formed between the Pope and Don John of Austria, that Don John should conquer England by help of the Spaniards, marry her, and become King of Great Britain in her right. In the early years of her imprisonment, the King of France said of her, "She will never cease till she lose her head. They will put her to death: it is her own fault and folly." Rather it was her misfortune and her fate.

Elizabeth's counsellors had long advised that Mary should be put to death: they had obtained full proof of her connexion with schemes of conspiracy and invasion: the people cried out for this, as necessary for the security of the Queen and of the nation; and Parliament petitioned, when the sentence had been passed, that it might be carried into effect. Yet it is a disgraceful part of English history. Some who had entered into correspondence with her, endeavoured now to hasten her death, as the surest

means of averting suspicion from themselves; and Elizabeth's conduct was marked by duplicity, which has left upon her memory a lasting stain. Nor is the act itself to be excused or palliated. It was thought at the time to be required by the strongest circumstances of state necessity; and yet neither the Queen nor the kingdom were more secure when this enemy was removed: the practices against Elizabeth's life were still continued, and a title to the crown was vamped up for the royal family of Spain, which the Seminarists supported by their writings and intrigues.

Elizabeth was at this time engaged in open hostilities with the Spaniards, a course to which the circumstances of Europe had compelled her against her will. Probably she long retained a sense of personal good will towards Philip, for the protection that he had afforded her during her sister's reign: and when the war in the Netherlands broke out, she was well aware how dangerous to England it would be, if France should obtain possession of those important provinces; and the termination which she endeavoured to bring about, as long as there was the slightest hope of effecting it, was that the inhabitants should have the free exercise of their religion secured to them, and return to their obedience. Had Philip listened to her interference, there was nothing, either in the temper or prin-

ciples of the English Government, which would have prevented a reciprocal toleration here. But religious bigotry made the Spaniards resolve upon a war of extermination in the Low Countries, believing themselves sure of success; and if they had succeeded, the same motive would direct their efforts against England with additional force, because, with the Protestant government of that kingdom, the Protestant cause must then have been subdued.

There appeared too much reason for apprehending this, after the murder of the Prince of Orange, when the Spaniards, under a general of consummate talents in the art of war, were successful in all their undertakings, and, in the conquest of Antwerp, had accomplished the greatest military undertaking of modern warfare. Shortly afterwards two English Catholics betrayed their trust in the Netherlands; the one delivering to the Spaniards a fort which he commanded near Zutphen, the other the city of Deventer, of which he was governor, and taking over with him a regiment of 1300 men. The former of these traitors was a ruffian, whose profligate character ought to have disqualified him for any honourable employment; but Sir William Stanley, the latter, acted upon a principle of conscience; he believed, as the head of his church proclaimed, that his duty, as an English subject, was incompatible

with his duty as a Catholic; and, as must always be the case when such duties are supposed to be in opposition to each other, the weakest went to the wall. He was, in all other respects, an honourable man, who had served with singular fidelity and valour: on his part, therefore, this treason was not an act of individual baseness, but the direct consequence of his religious opinions; and as such it was publicly defended, extolled, and held up for a meritorious example, by Cardinal Allen, the person, of all others, whom the English Catholics regarded with most respect. The Cardinal and the Pope wrote to Philip, soliciting his favour for Stanley's regiment of deserters, and saying, that as he already encouraged a seminary of students to pray and write for the furtherance of the Catholic cause in England, so might this regiment, under the command of so worthy and Catholic a person as Sir William Stanley, be made a seminary of soldiers to fight for it. When the great attempt at invasion was made, Allen advised the King of Spain to let the management of the Armada be confided to English sailors, perfectly acquainted with their own seas and coast; and when he spoke of this in after years, he used to weep with bitterness, remembering how fatally for the Romish cause his advice had been rejected. It has been said, upon his alleged authority, that if the invasion had suc-

ceeded, and Elizabeth had been taken prisoner, the intention was to send her to Rome, that the Pope might dispose of her as he thought best.

That danger, the greatest with which these kingdoms and the Protestant cause were ever threatened, was met with a spirit such as the emergency required; but it was averted less by any human means, than by the providential agency of the elements. Unable to wreak their vengeance upon Elizabeth in any more satisfactory manner, the Romanists gratified it by representing her as a monster of impiety and cruelty. An unnatural Englishman, who held the office of Professor of Divinity in a Catholic university, asserted, that Heaven hated, and Earth persecuted, whatever bore the English name; and had the accounts which these slanderers disseminated been true, England would have deserved this universal odium. A book was published at Rome, with prints representing the cruelties practised by the English upon the Catholics because of their religion; one of the punishments being to sew them in bear-skins, and bait them with dogs. They affirmed that at the dissolution of the monasteries, the Religioners were left at the mercy of the mob, any person being allowed to put them to death in any manner,... that some were torn to pieces by horses, some crucified, some murdered in pri-

son by forcing hot irons into their eyes and ears; that it was a common practice to expose Catholic virgins of noble family in the public stews, if they would not renounce their religion, and that this was done by order of Elizabeth herself; that hymns in praise of Elizabeth were set forth by authority, in place of the praises of the Virgin Mary, and used in the service of the Church; and that the Queen had a law passed, by which her bastard children were appointed to succeed her. The books * in which these execrable falsehoods were affirmed, were not only licensed, but approved and recommended by the censors of the press, as authentic expositions of the state of England, and the character of the English Queen and of the English Church.

That Church, and the Queen, its re-founder, are clear of persecution, as regards the Catholics. No church, no sect, no individual, even, had yet professed the principle of toleration; insomuch that when the English Bishops proposed that certain incorrigible Arians and Pelagians should

* I allude more particularly to the *Historia Ecclesiastica del Scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra*, by the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who, having been in this country during Mary's reign, must have known that the calumny which he propagated concerning Elizabeth's incestuous origin, was utterly false;—and to the *Noticias Historicas de las Tres Florentissimas Provincias del Celeste Orden de la Santissima Trinidad, en Inglaterra, Escocia, y Hibernia*, by El M. R. P. M. Fr. Domingo Lopez.

be confined in some castle in North Wales, where they were to be secluded from all intercourse with others, and to live by their own labour, till they should be found to repent their errors, this was an approach to it which the age was not prepared to bear. Some Anabaptists from Holland were apprehended: their wild opinions, and still more their history, had placed this unhappy sect, as it were, under the ban of society wherever they appeared; they were condemned as heretics; one submitted to an acknowledgment of error, eight were sent out of the country, but two, who were deemed pre-eminently impious, were delivered to the flames. The good old martyrologist, whom Elizabeth, with becoming reverence, used always to call Father Fox, interceded for these poor wretches, and addressed to the Queen a Latin letter in their behalf. He did not ask that such fanatical sects should be tolerated; nothing, he said, could be more absurd than their foul and portentous errors; they were by no means to be endured, but to be repressed by fit correction. But that the living bodies of these miserable creatures should be destroyed by fire and flame, raging with the strength of pitch and sulphur,... this, he said, is more conformable to the cruelty of the Romanists, than to the Gospel. "My nature is such, (and this I say of myself foolishly, perhaps, but truly,) that I can hardly pass

by the shambles where cattle are slaughtered, without an inward sense of pain and repugnance. And with my whole heart I admire and venerate the mercy of God for this, that, concerning those brute and humble creatures, who were formerly offered in sacrifice, he provided that they should not be burnt, until their blood had been poured out at the foot of the altar. Whence, in exacting just punishment, we may learn that every thing must not be permitted to severity; but that the asperity of rigour should be tempered with clemency. Wherefore, if I may venture so far, I entreat your excellent Majesty, for Christ's sake, that the life of these miserable creatures may be spared if that be possible, (and what is there which is not possible, in such cases, to your Majesty?)... at least that this horror may be prevented, and changed into some other kind of punishment. There is imprisonment, there are chains, there is perpetual exile, there are branding and stripes, and even the gibbet; this alone I earnestly deprecate, that you would not suffer the fires of Smithfield, which, under your most happy auspices, have slept so long, to be again rekindled." He concluded by praying, if he could obtain no more, that a month or two might at least be granted him, during which it might be tried whether God would give them grace to recover from their perilous errors, lest, with the

loss of their bodies, their souls also should be in danger of everlasting destruction. Alas, the latter petition was all that he obtained! A month's reprieve was granted; and the poor creatures, remaining firm in their notions, then suffered the cruel death to which they had been condemned. The excuse which has been offered is, "that Elizabeth was necessitated to this severity, who having formerly executed some traitors, if now sparing these blasphemers, the world would condemn her, as being more earnest in asserting her own safety, than God's honour." A miserable excuse; but it shows how entirely the execution of the Seminarists was regarded as the punishment of treason. Against this crime Father Fox appears to have been the only person who raised his voice. But against the conciliatory system, which the Church and State pursued, a fiercer opposition was made by fanatical Protestants, than by the Papists themselves.

The founders of the English Church were not hasty reformers who did their work in the heat of enthusiasm; they were men of mature judgement and consummate prudence, as well as of sound learning, and sincere piety; their aim was, in the form and constitution of the Church, never to depart unnecessarily from what had been long established; that thus the great body of the Romanists might more easily be reconciled to the

transition; and in their articles to use such comprehensive words, as might leave a latitude for different opinions upon contentious points. There had been a dispute among the emigrants at Frankfort, during Mary's reign; it had been mischievously begun, and unwarrantably prosecuted, and its consequences were lamentably felt in England; whither some of the parties brought back with them a predilection for the discipline of the Calvinists, and a rooted aversion for whatever Catholic forms were retained in the English Church. In this, indeed, they went beyond Calvin himself; refusing to tolerate what he had pronounced to be "tolerable fooleries." The objects of their abhorrence were the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice, which they called conjuring garments of popery.

Great forbearance was shown toward the first generation of men, who were disquieted with these pitiful scruples. Regard was had to their otherwise exemplary lives, to their former sufferings, and to the signal services which some of them had rendered to the Protestant cause, for Coverdale, Lever, and Father Fox, were among them. These, who neither sought to disturb the order, nor insult the practice of the Church, were connived at for inobservancies, which in them were harmless, because they did not proceed from a principle of insubordination. It was

not till several years had elapsed, and strong provocation had repeatedly been given, that any person was silenced for non-conformity. Bishop Grindal entreated Sampson, the Dean of Christ Church, even with tears, that he would only so far conform, as sometimes to wear the cap at public meetings in the University; and the Dean refused as determinately, as if he had been called upon to bow the knee to Baal. He was encouraged in this, by Leicester's protection. That unprincipled minion favoured the Puritans, because he was desirous of stripping the bishoprics, and securing to himself a portion of the spoils; a design, which he could hope to accomplish by no other means than by the triumph of this levelling faction. Even a fouler motive may be suspected. At one time, he entertained a project of marrying the Queen of Scots; and afterwards was in hope of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth herself. This latter hope he communicated to the Spanish Ambassador, requesting that the King of Spain would use his influence to promote the match; and pledging himself, if it were effected, to restore the Catholic religion in this kingdom. If he seriously entertained this project, no better course of preparation could be followed, than that of weakening and distracting the Church of England.

The proceedings of Elizabeth's government,

both towards Papists and Puritans, were grounded upon these principles, that conscience is not to be constrained, but won by force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of persuasion; and that cases of conscience, when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and, however they may be coloured with the pretence of religion, are then to be restrained and punished. When the Puritans inveighed against pluralities and non-residence, though the circumstances of the Church, and its extreme impoverishment, rendered inevitable what would otherwise have been an abuse, their zeal was not condemned; and they were long tolerated in their refusal of the habits, and some of the ceremonies, with an indulgence, which, if the personal qualities of the first Non-conformists had not been considered, would appear to have been carried too far, and used too long. "There are some sins," says Jeremy Taylor, "whose malignity is accidentally increased by the lightness of the subject matter; ...to despise authority, when the obedience is so easy as the wearing of a garment, or doing of a posture, is a greater and more impudent contempt, than to despise authority imposing a great burden of a more considerable pressure, when human infirmity may tempt to a disobedience, and lessen the crime." The men for whose sake

this indulgence was allowed, deserved, and were contented with it. But there were others, in whom the spirit of insubordination was at work; and who, if their first demands had been conceded, would then have protested against the weathercock, made war upon steeples, and required that all churches should be built north and south, in opposition to the superstitious usage of placing them east and west. The habits at first had been the only, or chief, matter of contention, all the rites of the Church were soon attacked; and, finally, its whole form and structure. The first questions were, as Hooker excellently said, "such silly things, that very easiness made them hard to be disputed of in serious manner;" but he added, with his admirable and characteristic wisdom, "if any marvelled how a thing in itself so weak, could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire."

The object of the second race of Non-conformists was to eradicate every vestige of the Romish Church, and to substitute such a platform of discipline as Calvin had erected at Geneva: this they called "the pattern in the mount," and they were too hot and hasty, to consider that Calvin's scheme was formed with relation to the peculiar circumstances of that

petty state. He was invited there by a turbulent democracy, who having driven away their Bishop and his Clergy, had just lived long enough in a state of ecclesiastical anarchy, to feel the necessity of having some discipline established among them. An episcopal form was not to be thought of; nor was there any hope that the people would be satisfied, unless the system which he proposed had at least a democratical appearance. Wisely, therefore, because necessity required that his views should be shaped according to the occasion, he formed a standing ecclesiastical court, of which the ministers were perpetual members, and Calvin himself, perpetual president; twice as many of the laity being annually elected as their associates: to this court, full power was given to decide all ecclesiastical causes, to inspect all men's manners, and punish, as far as excommunication, all persons of whatsoever rank. That the discipline was of the most morose and inquisitorial kind, . . . the members of the court being empowered to pry into the private affairs of every family, and examine any person concerning his own, or his neighbour's, conduct upon oath, . . . and that the Church of Geneva assumed as high a tone as that of Rome, must be ascribed something to the temper of the times, but more to that of the legislator.

The Genevan scheme had been adopted in

Scotland, because Knox was a disciple of Calvin, and because the nobles, to whom that miserable country was a prey, preferred a church government under which they might divide among themselves the whole property of the Church. Its partisans in England proposed the discipline as the only and sure remedy for all the evils of the state, promising, among what Walsingham called other impossible wonders, that if it were once planted, there should be neither beggars nor vagabonds in the land. "In very truth," said Parker, "they are ambitious spirits, and can abide no superiority. Their fancies are favoured of some of great calling, who seek to gain by other men's losses; and most plausible are these men's devices to a great number of the people who labour to live in all liberty. But the one, blinded with the desire of getting, see not their own fall, which no doubt will follow: the other, hunting for alteration, pull upon their necks intolerable servitude. For these fantastical spirits, which labour to reign in men's consciences, will, if they may bring their purposes to pass, lay a heavy yoke upon their necks. In the platform set down by these new builders, we evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, and a popular state to be sought. The end will be ruin to religion, and confusion to our country." No great political calamities have ever befallen

a civilized state, without being distinctly foreseen and plainly predicted by men wiser than their generation. Elizabeth perceived that the principles of these church-revolutionists were hostile to monarchy: men, she said, who were "over-bold with the Almighty, making too many scannings of his blessed will, as lawyers did with human testaments;" and she declared, that, without meaning to encourage the Romanists, she considered these persons more perilous to the state.

The number of non-conforming clergy was but small; when an account was taken of them by Archbishop Whitgift, there were found 49 in the province of Canterbury, those who were conformable being 786. "The most ancient," said he, "and best learned, the wisest, and in effect, the whole state of the Clergy of this province do conform themselves; such as are otherwise affected, are in comparison of the rest but few, and most of them young in years, and of unsettled minds:" and he complained how intolerable it was, that "a few men, for the most part young, and of very small reading and study, and some of them utterly unlearned, should oppose themselves to that, which by the most notable and famous men in learning, had been allowed, and in the use whereof God had so wonderfully blessed this kingdom." But the tyrannical disposition of these people, who demanded to be set free

from all restraint themselves, was even more intolerable than their presumption. As far as was in their power they separated themselves from the members of the Church, and refused to hold any communion with them. Instances occurred, where they were strong enough, of their thrusting the Clergy out of their own churches, if they wore the surplice, and taking away the bread from the communion table, because it was in the wafer form. Some fanatics spat in the face of their old acquaintance, to testify their utter abhorrence of conformity. There were refractory Clergy who refused to baptize by any names which were not to be found in the Scriptures; and as one folly leads to another, the scriptural names themselves were laid aside, for such significant appellations as Deliverance, Discipline, From above, More trial, More fruit, Joy again, Earth, Dust, Ashes, Kill sin, and Fight the good fight of faith. But it is not in such follies that the spirit of fanaticism rests contented. They boasted in the division which they occasioned, and said it was an especial token, that the work came from God, because Christ had declared he came not to send peace into the world, but a sword. That sword, it was their evident belief, was to be entrusted to their hands. Their first prayer had been, that the Church might be swept clean; this was sufficiently significant; but when

they found that they were not allowed to perform the task of sweeping, they prayed that God would strike through the sides of all who went about to deprive his ministers of the liberty which He granted them. A third race arose, who in contumacy and violence exceeded the second, as much as they had outgone the first. They were for putting in practice the most dangerous maxims, which their predecessors, in the heat of controversy, had thrown out. Because it is better to obey God than man, they proclaimed that if the magistrates would not be persuaded to erect the discipline, they ought, instead of lingering and staying for Parliament, to prosecute the matter with celerity, and erect it themselves. This was a case in which subjects might withstand their Prince; the ministers, after due admonition, might excommunicate him as an enemy to the kingdom of Christ; and being so excommunicated, the people might then punish him. Such doctrines, mingled with the coarsest and foulest ribaldry, were promulgated in ferocious libels; the authors and printers of which long continued to elude and to defy the vigilance of the laws. Hitherto, so long as they had been contented with proposing what they desired, "leaving it to the providence of God, and to the authority of the magistrates," they had been borne with, except in cases of extreme contempt.

But now, (they are Walsingham's words, a minister who was disposed to regard them and their proceedings more favourably than he ought,)... when they "affirmed that the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended; when they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the Church by ridiculous pasquils; when they began to make many subjects in doubt to take an oath, (which is one of the fundamental points of justice in this land, and in all places); when they began both to vaunt of their strength and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations that their cause would prevail, though with uproar and violence; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division."

The Act which restored to the Crown its "ancient jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual," provided that the Sovereign might appoint Commissioners to exercise this jurisdiction; they had authority to inquire into all offences which fell under the ecclesiastical laws, "by the oaths of twelve men, as also by witnesses, and all other ways and means* they could

* "That is," says Neal, "by Inquisition, by the rack, by torture, or by any ways and means that forty-four sovereign judges

devise; to examine offenders upon oath, and punish them by fine or imprisonment, at discretion." These powers, great as they were, were less than those in the place of which they were substituted. They were afterwards grossly abused: but during Elizabeth's reign the practice was less objectionable than the principle. The Church was right in exacting conformity from its ministers; its error was in not permitting men of narrow minds and rickety consciences to associate and worship after their own way. But the malecontents would not have been satisfied with this. It was not for toleration that they

shall invent. Surely this should have been limited to LAWFUL *ways and means*." (History of the Puritans, Vol. i. 414.) And surely this most prejudiced and dishonest of all historians ought to have observed, that it was so limited *twice* in the very commission itself. It is but too true, that the torture was then in use in cases of treason, and that upon that score, many of the Romish martyrs were put to the rack. But such cases were not within cognizance of this court; they had no authority to use the torture; nor is there the slightest proof, or presumption, that it was ever exercised by them. "If any article did touch the party any way, either for life, liberty, or scandal, he might refuse to answer; neither was he urged thereunto." These were Whitgift's words at the Hampton-Court Conference. What the sufferers under the high commission complained of, was the miserable state of the prisons wherein they were confined; an evil which, to the disgrace of the country, continued with little or no amendment till our own days, and is not yet every where removed.

contended, but for the establishment of their own system, under which no toleration would have been allowed. Their demands were founded upon the assumption that they themselves were infallible, and that the system of the established Church was intolerable. It was the opinion of the greatest statesmen in those days, that uniformity of religion is absolutely necessary to the support of a government; and therefore that toleration cannot be granted to sectaries with safety. The principle of intolerance, indeed, was common to those who exercised authority, and to those who resisted it; and the inevitable consequence was, that contumacy and persecution exasperated each other. Authority, which at first was justly exercised, was provoked to act oppressively; and the opposition, which began in caprice and pertinacious conceit, became respectable and even magnanimous in suffering. The Romanists, seeing the miserable schism which had arisen, looked upon the establishment as a divided, and therefore an unstable Church, and were withheld from joining it, as much by this consideration, and by the extravagance of the sectaries, as by the efforts of their own Clergy. Baffled thus in its plans of comprehension and conciliation, the Government had recourse to stronger compulsive measures, not perceiving that

persecution never can effect its object, unless it be carried to an extent at which humanity shudders and revolts. The fine for not attending church on Sundays, which had been fixed at twelve pence for each omission, was raised to the enormous sum of twenty pounds per month; and the punishment for writing, printing, or publishing any false, seditious, or slanderous matter, to the defamation of the Queen, or to the stirring up of insurrection and rebellion, was made death, as in cases of felony. Some of the men concerned in the libels against the Church, suffered under this statute. More truculent libels never issued from the press; but the punishment exceeded the offence, and therefore inflamed in others the spirit which it was intended to abate. The error of understanding, the presumptuousness of youth, the heat of mind in which such writings originated, time would have corrected; and, where there was any generosity of heart, merciful usage would have produced contrition. This effect was, in fact, produced upon Cartwright, who, more than any other individual, had contributed to excite and diffuse the spirit of resistance and dissension. Age sobered him, clemency softened him, experience made him wise, and his latter days were passed in dutiful and peaceful conformity. "In controversies of this

kind," says Fuller, "men, when they consult with their gray hairs, begin to abate of their violence." At his death he lamented the troubles which he had raised in the Church, by promoting an unnecessary schism, and wished he could begin his life again, that he might testify how deeply he disapproved his former ways.

CHAPTER XVI.

JAMES I.

During the last years of Elizabeth's reign the Puritans remained quiet: they saw that the state was resolved to make the clergy conform to the institutions of their church: their libels were put down less by the severity of the law than by a set of writers who replied to them with equal scurrility and more wit; and they lived in hope that, upon Elizabeth's death, an order of things more conformable to their views would be established by a King who had been bred up in Presbyterian principles. The Romanists also looked with equal expectations to the new reign. They reminded King James of his mother's prayers, that he might be such as they most desired; and they assured him that they rejoiced at his accession no otherwise than the Christians in old times had done upon the entrance of Constantine into the empire after Diocletian, or of Jovian after Julian. These half-hearted Englishmen rejoiced at Elizabeth's death; but never had

any sovereign reigned more to his own honour, or to the advantage of his subjects; and so sensible was the sound part of the nation of the benefits which it had derived from her wise and happy government, that pictures of her monument were hung up "in most London and many country churches, every parish being proud of the shadow of her tomb;" and the anniversary of her accession was for some generations observed as a holyday throughout the kingdom.

James had been too well educated by Buchanan ever to be ensnared in the toils of Romish sophistry: he was but half a King to the Papists, he said, being lord over their bodies, while their souls were the Pope's: and there could be no continued obedience where there was not true religion. He came also armed with sound learning against the speculative errors of Puritanism, and with no predilection for its discipline, for he had both seen and felt its practical consequences. Once when ambassadors from France were about to leave his court and he had desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a feast before their departure, the ministers of that city proclaimed a fast for the day appointed; and to detain the people at church, the three ordinary preachers delivered sermons in St. Giles's one after another, denouncing curses on those who obeyed the King on that occasion, and threatening

the magistrates with excommunication. A rabid preacher had even from the pulpit denounced against the King himself by name, the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless and be the last of his race. The friends of the establishment had looked to the new reign with uneasy apprehensions, dreading what they called the Scotch mist; but James was a person who liked fair weather, and on his arrival in England he soon perceived that he was got into a better climate.

The Puritans, like all factious minorities, endeavoured, by activity, to make amends for their want of numbers. They exerted themselves to get men of their opinions returned to parliament... they set forth books, and presented what they called the humble petition of the Thousand Ministers, (though the subscription fell short of that amount by some hundreds,) desiring that the offences in the church might be some removed, some amended, and some qualified; offering to show that what they complained of as abuses were not agreeable to the scriptures, if the King would be pleased to have the point discussed either in writing or by conference among the learned. The true sons of the church were not idle at this juncture; both universities disclaimed the petition, and Oxford in its answer represented to the King how inconvenient and

insufferable it was in Christian policy to permit a long and well-settled state of government to be so much as questioned, much more to be altered for a few of his subjects; especially considering the matter pretended to be the cause of these men's griefs and of their desired reformation, unjustly so called. James, however, was induced, as much by inclination as a sense of duty, to permit the proposed conference; and accordingly it was held before the privy council at Hampton Court, the King himself presiding as moderator, four of the Puritan clergy being summoned as representatives of the millenaries, for so the petitioners were called.

On the first day James conferred with the Bishops and some of the Deans who were summoned with them. He had not called that assembly, he said, for any innovation, for as yet he saw no cause to change, but rather to confirm what was well settled. Yet because nothing can be so absolutely ordered but that something may be added thereunto, and corruption in any state will insensibly grow either through time or persons,... and because he had received many complaints of many disorders and much disobedience to the laws, with a great falling away to popery,... his purpose was, like a good physician, to examine and try the complaints; and fully to remove the occasions thereof, if scandalous,... cure them, if

dangerous,... and take knowledge of them, if but frivolous; thereby to cast a sop to Cerberus, that he might bark no more. And he had called them in severally, that if anything should be found meet to be redressed, it might be done without visible alteration. There were some points concerning the Book of Common Prayer and the service of the church wherein he desired to be satisfied. They related to confirmation,... that name seeming to imply that baptism is of no validity without it; he abhorred this opinion and the abuse which made it a sacrament: to absolution, which he had heard likened to the Pope's pardon; and to private baptism, which if it meant that any beside a lawful minister might baptize, he utterly disliked. Upon the two first points the Bishops fully satisfied the King: upon the third he retained his objection to the custom which allowed midwives or other persons to administer baptism in case of necessity; and the Bishops were ordered to consult, whether in the rubric which then left it indifferently to all, the words curate or lawful minister might not be inserted. He propounded also, whether the name of excommunication might not be altered in cases of less moment, and whether some other mode of coercion might not be substituted; and to this the Bishops easily assented, as a thing which had been often and long desired.

The Puritans were called in on the second day, and Dr. Reynolds as their spokesman stated, all they required might be reduced to these four heads, that the doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to God's word; that good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same; that the church government might be sincerely ministered according to God's word; and that the book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety. Concerning the first point, he requested that the Articles of the Church might be explained where obscure, and enlarged where defective. The purport of this was, that they might be made decidedly Calvinistic, for which end he would have had it asserted that the elect can never totally or finally fall from a state of grace, and would have inserted nine propositions, known by the name of Lambeth Articles, because they had there been sanctioned by Archbishop Whitgift, for the purpose of terminating a controversy at Cambridge; but they had never been set forth by authority; on the contrary, they had displeased Elizabeth and Burleigh, who justly observed that such tenets charge God with cruelty, and might cause men to be desperate in their wickedness. Secondly, where the Articles said it is not lawful for any in the congregation to preach before he is lawfully called; he wished something to be

altered, because the words seemed to imply that one who was not of the congregation, might preach without such a call. And thirdly, he objected to an apparent contradiction, concerning confirmation, which in one place, he said, was allowed to be a depraved imitation of the Apostles, and in another, was grounded on their example.

Upon this, Bancroft, the Bishop of London, reminded the King of the ancient canon which declared that schismatics were not to be heard against Bishops; and of the decree of an ancient council, that no man should be admitted to speak against what he had formerly subscribed. He told the Puritan disputants they were beholden to the King's clemency, for allowing them, contrary to the statute, to speak thus freely against the Liturgy and discipline established. "Fain," said he, "would I know the end you aim at; and whether you be not of Mr. Cartwright's mind, who affirmed that we ought in ceremonies to conform to the Turks rather than the Papists. I doubt you approve his position, because here appearing before his majesty in Turkey gowns, not in your scholastic habits." This rebuke they well deserved; but James reproved the interruption. "My Lord Bishop," said he, "something in your passion I may excuse, and something I must mislike. I may excuse you thus far, that I think

you have just cause to be moved, in respect that they traduce the well settled government, and also proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of this meeting. I mislike your interruption of Dr. Reynolds, whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty... Either let him proceed, or frame your answer to his motions already made, although some of them are very needless."

Bancroft then replied to the observation upon falling from grace: there were many, he said, in those days, who neglected holiness of life, presuming on persisting in grace upon predestination: a desperate doctrine, contrary to good divinity, wherein we should reason, rather by ascending than descending,...from our obedience to God, and love of our neighbour, to our election. The King said he approved the words of the Article, as consonant to those of the Apostle, "work out your salvation with fear and trembling;" and he desired that the question of predestination might be tenderly handled, lest on the one hand God's omnipotence be questioned, or on the other, a desperate presumption arreared by inferring the necessary certainty of persisting in Grace.

The contradiction concerning confirmation, which Reynolds had imputed to the Articles, the King, upon examination, pronounced a mere cavil;

with regard to the rite itself, Bancroft observed that Dr. Reynolds and his party were vexed the use of it was not in their own hands, for every pastor to confirm in his own parish; and this was admitted on their part. The Bishop of Winchester then asked Reynolds with all his learning, to show him when confirmation was used in ancient times, by any other but Bishops? and the King declared it was not his intention to take from them what they had so long enjoyed. I approve, said he, the calling and use of Bishops in the Church; and it is my aphorism, no Bishop, no King.

The next objection was, that the Articles in saying the Bishop of Rome had no authority in this land, were not sufficient unless it were added "nor ought to have any." To this the King properly replied, inasmuch as it is said he hath not, it is plain enough that he ought not to have. This frivolous objection led to what is termed some pleasant discourse between James and the Lords about the Puritans, and Bancroft reminded the King of what Sully had said upon seeing the service of the English Church, that if the Reformed Churches of France had kept the same order, there would have been thousands of protestants more. Reynolds now proposed it might be added to the Articles, that the intention of the minister is not of the essence of the Sacrament;

a motion which the King said he utterly disliked, thinking it unfit to thrust into the Articles every *position negative*, which would swell the book into a volume as big as the Bible, and confound the reader. In this way, he said, one M. Craig in Scotland, with his multiplied *detestations* and *abrenuntiations*, had so perplexed and amazed simple people, that they fell back to Popery, or remained in their former ignorance. If bound to this form, "the confession of my faith must be in my Table-book, not in my head." Because you speak of intention, he added, I will apply it thus. If you come hither with a good intention to be informed, the whole work will sort to the better effect. But if your intention be to go as you came (whatsoever shall be said,) it will prove the intention is very material and essential to the end of the present action.

I request, said Dr. Reynolds, that one uniform catechism may be made, and none other generally received. A request which the King pronounced very reasonable; "yet so," he added, "that the catechism be made in the fewest and plainest terms, not like the many ignorant catechisms in Scotland, set forth by every one who was the *son of a good man*. And herein I would have two rules observed; first, that curious and deep questions be avoided in the *fundamental instruction* of a people; secondly, that there should not be so gene-

ral a departure from the Papists, that every thing should be accounted an error wherein we agree with them." Reynolds complained that the sabbath was profaned, and requested that the Bible might be new translated. The King assented to this, saying that no English translation was good, but that of Geneva was the worst; and he noticed the tendency of the marginal notes in that Bible, one of which allowed of disobedience to kings, and another censured King Asa, for only deposing his mother for idolatry, instead of killing her. But he added, Surely if these were the greatest matters that grieved you, I need not have been troubled with such importunate complaints! The next request of Reynolds was, that unlawful and seditious books might be suppressed, meaning those of the Romanists: he was answered that the Bishop of London had done what he could to suppress them; but that certain controversial ones between the Secular priests and the Jesuits, were permitted for the purpose of fomenting the division between them, and also because in those books the pretended title of Spain to this kingdom was confuted; and it appeared in them by the testimony of the priests themselves, that the Papists, who were put to death in this country, suffered not for conscience only, but for treason.

Reynolds came now to his second general

point, and desired that learned ministers might be planted in every parish. James replied that the Bishops were willing, but it could not immediately be done, the universities not affording them. And yet, said he, they afford more learned men than the realm doth maintenance, which must be first provided. In the meantime, ignorant ministers, if young, and there be no hope of amendment, are to be removed; if old, their death must be expected. The Bishop of Winchester remarked, that lay patrons were a great cause of the evil which was complained of; for if the Bishop refused to admit the clerks whom they presented, he was presently served with a *Quare impedit*. Bancroft then knelt, and begged that as it was a time of moving petitions he might move two or three to his majesty: and first, he requested that there might be a praying ministry, it being now come to pass, that men thought it was the only duty of ministers to spend their time in the pulpit. I like your motion exceeding well, replied the King, and dislike the hypocrisy of our times, who place all their religion in the ear, while prayer (so requisite and acceptable if duly performed) is accounted as the least part of religion. Bancroft's second motion was, that, till learned men could be planted in every congregation, the homilies might be read; the King approved this also, especially where

the living was not sufficient to maintain a learned preacher; and the Puritan divines expressed their assent. The Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere, objected to pluralities, saying he wished some might have single coats, before others had doublets. Bancroft admitted the general principle, but said a doublet was necessary in cold weather. His last motion was, that pulpits might not be made pasquils, wherein every discontented fellow might traduce his superiors. The pulpit is no place of personal reproof, said the King. Let them complain to me if injured; first to the Ordinary, from him to the Archbishop, from him to the Lords of the Council, and if in all these no remedy be found, then to myself.

After this episode Dr. Reynolds requested that subscription might not be exacted as theretofore; many good men, he said, being unwilling to subscribe, because the Apocrypha was enjoined to be read in the churches, although some chapters therein were repugnant to scripture. The King desired him to note those chapters, and bring them to the primate, saying he would have none read in the church, wherein any error was contained. A wretched cavil against subscription was next made, because in the Dominical Gospels it was twice set down, Jesus said to his disciples, where by the original context it appears that he spake to the Pharisees. Let the

word *Disciples* be omitted, said the King, and the words *Jesus said,* be printed in a different letter. Mr. Knewstubs now spake for the Puritans, and objected to the baptismal service. He instanced the cross in baptism, whereat, said he, the weak brethren are offended contrary to the counsel of the Apostle. "How long will such brethren be weak?" replied the King. "Are not forty-five years sufficient for them to grow strong in? Besides who pretends this weakness? We require not subscriptions of laicks and idiots, but of preachers and ministers, who are not still (I trow) to be fed with milk, being enabled to feed others. Some of them are strong enough, if not headstrong; conceiving themselves able to teach him who last spake for them, and all the Bishops of the land." The antiquity of the use of the cross as a significant sign was shown, and the power of the Church to institute such ceremonies was asserted; but Knewstubs observed the greatest scruple was, how far the ordinance of the church bindeth, without impeaching christian liberty?

This was coming to the point; and James, who had hitherto behaved with his characteristic good nature, warmly replied, "I will not argue that point with you, but answer as Kings in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera.* This is like M. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me the last conference in Scotland, that he would hold con-

formity with his Majesty, in matters of doctrine, but every man for ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty. But I will have none of that! I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey!" Here Reynolds interposed, with a wish that the cross were abandoned, as the Brasen Serpent had been destroyed by Hezekiah, because it had been abused to Idolatry. Inasmuch as the cross was abused to superstition, in time of Popery, replied the King, "it doth plainly imply that it was well used before. I detest their courses who peremptorily disallow of all things which have been abused to Popery; and I know not how to answer the objections of the Papists, when they charge us with novelties, but by telling them we retain the primitive use of things, and only forsake their novel corruptions... Material crosses to which people fell down in time of Popery, (as the idolatrous Jews to the Brasen Serpent) are already demolished.

I take exception, quoth Knewstubs, at the surplice, a garment used by the priests of Isis. "I thought till of late," replied James, returning to his good nature, "it had been a rag of Popery. Seeing that we border not upon Heathens now, neither are any of them conversant with, or commorant amongst us, thereby to be confirmed in

Paganism, I see no reason, but for comeliness-sake it may be continued."... "I take exception," said Dr. Reynolds, "at these words in the marriage service, with my body I thee worship." James made answer, "I was made believe the phrase imported no less than divine adoration, but find it an usual English term, as when we say a gentleman of worship; and it agreeth with the Scriptures, giving honour to the wife. As for you, Dr. Reynolds," with a smile, he continued, "many men speak of Robin Hood, who never shot in his bow. If you had a good wife yourself, you would think all worship and honour you could do her, were well bestowed."... It was then observed, that objections were made to the ring in marriage; Reynolds said "he approved it well enough, but that some took exceptions at the churching of women;" upon which the King remarked, "that women being loath of themselves to come to church, he liked that, or any other occasion to draw them thither." "My last exception," said the Doctor, "is against committing ecclesiastical censures to Lay-Chancellors:" James replied, "he had conferred with his Bishops upon that point, and such order should be taken therein as was convenient:" and he bade him proceed to some other matters.

Reynolds then desired that the clergy might have meetings every three weeks, first in rural

deaneries, where he wished to have those discussions of scriptural and theological questions by way of exercise, called prophesyings, which Elizabeth had wisely suppressed as being schools of disputation and seminaries of schism: such things as could not be resolved there, he proposed should be referred to the archdeacon's visitations, and so by a further appeal, if needed, to the episcopal synod. " If you aim at a Scottish presbytery," replied the King, " it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'avisera.* Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand that! and then if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may, perchance, hearken unto you, for that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough. I shall speak of one matter more, somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not. Dr. Reynolds, you have often spoken for my supremacy, and it is well: but know you any here, or elsewhere, who like of the present government ecclesiastical, and dislike my supremacy?" Reynolds replied that he knew none. " Why then," continued James, " I will tell you a tale. After that the religion established by King Edward VI. was soon overthrown by Queen Mary, we in Scotland felt the

effect of it. For thereupon, M. Knox writes to the Queen Regent, (a virtuous and moderate lady,) telling her that she was the Supreme Head of the Church; and charged her, as she would answer it at God's tribunal, to take care of *Christ his evangil,* in suppressing the Popish prelates who withstood the same. But how long, trow you, did this continue? Even till by her authority the Popish Bishops were repressed, and Knox with his adherents, being brought in, made strong enough. Then began they to make small account of her supremacy, when, according to that *more light* wherewith they were illuminated, they made a further reformation of themselves. How they used the poor lady my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it! My lords the Bishops, I may thank you that these men plead thus for my supremacy! They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it: but if once you were out and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy, for No bishop, no King. I have learned of what cut they have been, who, preaching before me since my coming into England, past over with silence my being supreme Governor in causes ecclesiastical... Well, Doctor, have you any thing else to say?" Reynolds replied, "No more, if it please your Majesty." Then said the

King, "if this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform, or harrie them out of the land,...or else do worse!"

On the following day such alterations (if so they may be called) in the liturgy, as the King had assented to, were laid before him and approved. They were as trifling as the objections which had been offered. Absolution was defined by the words remission of sins. To the confirmation of children, the word examination was added; and in the Dominical gospels, Jesus said to them, was twice substituted for Jesus said to his disciples. Private baptism was only to be performed by lawful ministers; no part of the apocrypha which appeared repugnant to the canonical scripture was to be read. Some limitation of the bishop's jurisdiction was to be made; and excommunication, as it was then used, to be taken away both in name and nature, instead of which, a writ out of Chancery was to be framed for punishing the contumacious. Schools and preachers were to be provided where they were needed as soon as might be; and where pluralities were allowed, which was to be as seldom as possible, the livings were to be near each other, and the incumbent was to maintain a preacher at the one which he did not serve himself. One catechism was to be made and used in all places, and order to be taken for an uniform translation

of the Bible. These points having been settled, the King inquired into the complaints against the High Court of Commission, namely, that the persons named in the commission were too many and too mean, and the matters which were brought before them, base, and such as the ordinaries might censure at home. To this Whitgift replied, that it was requisite their number should be many, and that there should be some persons among them whose attendance he might command in the absence of the lords of the council, bishops and judges, otherwise he should often be forced to sit alone. Touching the business of the matters which were brought before them, he had often complained, but could not remedy it: for though the offence were small, the offender oftentimes was so great and contumacious, that the ordinary dared not punish him, and so was forced to crave help at the high commission. It was complained that the branches granted out by the bishops in their several dioceses were too frequent and too large; Whitgift admitted this, and said they had often been granted against his will, and generally without his knowledge. He vindicated the High Court from the charge of proceeding like the Inquisition. And James declared his opinion that reports and scandals were to be looked to by ecclesiastical courts, and yet great moderation was to be used therein. He

then spoke concerning the necessity and use of the oath *ex officio,* so much in accord with those who heard him, that Whitgift said undoubtedly he spake by the special assistance of the Spirit; and Bancroft protested his heart melted with joy that God in his mercy had given them a King whose like had never been seen in Christendom. The language of gross adulation had long been common in the English court; Elizabeth's courtiers were hardly conscious of servility when they addressed it to a woman; they transferred it habitually to her successor; and when the prelates used it on this occasion, unworthy as it may well appear to us, it proceeded as much from habit as from delight at finding the King's opinions upon church government, which had been greatly doubted, in such entire conformity with their own.

The Puritan representatives were now called in, and the alterations in the liturgy were shown them, to which they assented in silence. I see, said James, the exceptions against the communion book are matters of weakness; therefore, if the reluctant persons be discreet, they will be won betimes and by good persuasions; if indiscreet, better they were removed, for by their factions many are driven to the Papists. From you, Dr. Reynolds, and your associates, I expect obedience and humility, the marks of honest and

good men; and that you would persuade others by your example. Reynolds replied, we do here promise to perform all duties to bishops as reverend fathers, and to join with them against the common adversary, for the quiet of the church. One of his colleagues requested that the surplice and the use of the cross might not be forced on certain godly ministers in Lancashire, lest many whom they had won by their preaching should revolt to popery. The King made answer, "it is not my purpose, and I dare say it is not the bishops' intent, presently, and out of hand, to enforce these things without fatherly admonitions, conferences and persuasions premised. But I wish it were examined whether such Lancashire ministers by their pains and preaching have converted any from popery, and withal be men of honest life and quiet conversation. If so, let letters be written to the Bishop of Chester that some favour may be afforded them. Upon this Bancroft remarked that the copy of those letters would fly all over England, all non-conformists would make the like request, and instead of any fruit following from this conference, things would be worse than they were before. He desired, therefore, that a time might be limited within which they should conform, and the King signified his assent. Mr. Knewstubs then requested the like forbearance toward some

honest ministers in Suffolk, for it will make much against their credits in the country, said he, to be now forced to the surplice, and the cross in baptism. Nay, Sir, said Whitgift, beginning to reply...when James interrupted him, saying, "Let me alone to answer him. Sir, you show yourself an uncharitable man. We have here taken pains, and in the end have concluded on unity and uniformity; and you, forsooth, must prefer the credits of a few private men before the peace of the church. This is just the Scotch argument when any thing was concluded which disliked some humours. Let them either conform themselves shortly, or they shall hear of it!" Some improprieties on the part of the non-conformists were noticed by Cecil and Bancroft; but James said, No more hereof for the present, seeing they have jointly promised to be quiet and obedient. And there the conferences ended, "wherein," says Fuller, "how discreetly the King carried himself, posterity, out of the reach of flattery, is the most competent judge."

The Puritans disowned their representatives when they found how the conference had concluded. They complained that the ministers who had appeared for them were not of their own choosing; that they had argued as if the ceremonies to which they objected were indifferent instead of sinful, had barely propounded the

points in controversy which they brought forward, and had wholly omitted others. The conference, however, was not useless; it showed how insignificant the objections were which the most discreet and learned of their party could advance when they were called upon to state them; and it produced a new translation of the Bible, upon which seven and forty of the most learned men in England were employed, Reynolds and one of his colleagues being of the number. They were instructed to keep as close to the version then in use, as was consistent with fidelity to the original. A truly admirable translation was thus completed, wherein, after the great advances which have been made in oriental and biblical learning, no error of main importance has been discovered. Minor ones inevitably there are; and whenever it may be deemed expedient, after this example, to correct them, we may trust that the diction will be preserved in all other parts with scrupulous veneration, and that no attempt will be made to alter what it is impossible to improve.

The marriage of the clergy, which Elizabeth had reluctantly suffered, but never could be persuaded to legitimate, was made lawful now by reviving the statute of Edward VI.: and an effectual stop was put to the alienation of church lands by an act, whereby all grants or leases of such to

any person, even the King himself, for more than one and twenty years, were declared void. James was, indeed, sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the church. Through his means F. Paolo Sarpi's admirable History of the Council of Trent was composed and given to the world; in which the intrigues and secret springs of that assembly were laid open by one of the best and wisest members of the Romish communion. And when the first general synod of the Protestants was held at Dort, it was owing to the influence of the English divines, that its sanction was not given to the monstrous doctrine of the Supralapsarians. The proceedings of the synod were sufficiently disgraceful without coming to such a conclusion; nevertheless the abominable doctrine that the Almighty has placed the greater part of mankind under a fatal necessity of committing the offences, for which he has predetermined eternally to punish them, from that time lost ground. But it became the distinguishing tenet of the non-conformists; it increased their strength, because those clergy who agreed with them at first in this point alone, gradually became political, as well as doctrinal Puritans; and it exasperated the implacable spirit of dissent, by filling them with a spiritual pride as intolerant as it was intolerable; for fancying that they were the favourites and elect of the Al-

mighty, they looked upon all who were not with them as the reprobate; and presuming that heaven was their's by sure inheritance, they were ready on the first opportunity to claim the earth also by the same title.

If few men have been betrayed into greater faults than James by mere facility of temper, there are few whom posterity has so unjustly depreciated. His talents were quick and lively, his understanding sound, and his acquirements such as fairly entitled him to a place among the learned men of his age. As he grew older he perceived wherein his opinions had been erroneous, and he was not ashamed to acknowledge and act upon the conviction of his maturer mind. He had written a treatise upon demonology; and yet, in consequence of what he afterwards observed, and the discovery of many impostures which were detected by his sagacity, he was perhaps the first person who shook off the superstitious belief of witchcraft, and openly proclaimed its falsehood. He had been bred up in Calvinism, and therefore, at one time, regarded the Arminian opinions with abhorrence: upon this point also, his mind underwent a salutary change: and perceiving that the discussion tended to promote any thing, rather than devotion and charity, he enjoined all preachers to abstain from such perilous and unprofitable ques-

tions; but in this instance his authority proved as inefficient as that of the papacy, when it was exerted afterwards with the same intent. He had been taught, like all his contemporaries, to believe that heresy was high treason against the Almighty, and therefore to be punished with death. But when a Socinian had suffered martyrdom in Smithfield, and one, who seems rather to have been crazed than heretical, at Litchfield, James perceived that such executions were impolitic, and though his abhorrence of the offence was not abated, felt also that they outraged the heart of man. A Spanish Arian, therefore, who had been condemned to the same dreadful death, was left in prison as long as he lived; and if other cases of the like kind had occurred, it was the King's intention never to make another martyr.

If he had proposed to repeal the law, an outcry would have been raised by zealots at home; and Protestants, as well as Romanists abroad, would have regarded it as a scandal in the English Church. The principle of toleration was acknowledged no where; that which existed in France was but an armed truce, during which both parties retained their implacable animosity against each other. In this respect, James was advanced beyond his country and his age. He saw in the Romish Church, much that ought for

ever to prevent its re-establishment in these kingdoms, but nothing for which the bonds of Christian charity ought to be broken; and if his desires and purposes had not been frustrated by the temper of the nation, and the spirit of the times, England would then have been placed upon that just footing with Rome, and with the Catholic parts of Christendom, from which the Protestant cause would have had every thing to hope, and nothing to fear.

Hostile as the nation was to these conciliatory views, its vindictive feelings toward the Catholics were violently exasperated by the discovery of the gunpowder plot. That atrocious treason was devised by a few bigots, who had become furious, when their hopes of bringing about a Spanish invasion were frustrated by the peace with Spain. The English Catholics, as a body, were innocent of it: but the opprobrium which it brought upon their Church was not unjust, because Guy Fawkes and his associates acted upon the same principles as the head of that Church, when, in his arrogated infallibility, he fulminated his bulls against Elizabeth, struck medals in honour of the Bartholomew massacre, and pronounced that the friar who assassinated Henri III. had performed "a famous and memorable act, not without the special providence of God, and the suggestion and assistance of the Holy

Spirit!" The ringleaders were not men of desperate fortunes, but of family and condition, some of them possessed of rank and affluence, and actually enjoying the King's favour. If they had felt any compunctious scruples, the sanction of their ghostly fathers quieted such doubts; and when one of their confessors, the Jesuit Garnet, suffered for his share in the treason, it was pretended that a portrait of the sufferer was miraculously formed by his blood, upon the straw with which the scaffold was strewn; the likeness was miraculously multiplied, a print of the wonder, with suitable accompaniments, was published at Rome; Garnet in consequence received the honour of beatification from the Pope, and the society to which he belonged enrolled him in their books as a martyr.

The Parliament thought it necessary upon this discovery that an oath of allegiance should be required from every Catholic; the Pope forbade them to take it as being injurious to his authority, and therefore destructive to their own souls. It was, however, taken without apparent scruple or reluctance; but Catholic writers, of the first eminence abroad, maintained the Papal pretensions in their whole extent; and the Protestants were thus confirmed in their opinion, that the doctrine of equivocation, which was publicly taught by the Romish casuists, and the belief of

the Pope's absolute power, rendered it impossible to confide in the oaths of men, whose consciences were not in their own keeping. The effect was injurious to all parties, and deeply so to the nation. It frustrated the conciliatory views of a good-natured King, and a wise administration: and it strengthened that acrimonious faction, whose sole ground of quarrel with the Church of England was, that it had not separated as widely as possible from the Romanists in all forms and ceremonies. But the growth of that faction confirmed the Romanists in their attachment to the old superstition, with all its enormities and errors; for they, who seeing the moderation, the decorum, and the stability of the establishment, might gradually, like so many others, have been drawn within its pale, were deterred, when they saw its moderation reproached, its decorum insulted, and its stability threatened. They apprehended, with too much reason, that the temper which had occasioned so utterly unwarrantable a schism would lead to the wildest anarchy of fanatical opinions; and they adhered, therefore, the more tenaciously to a Church which was liable to no such danger.

Bancroft, who succeeded Whitgift in the primacy, pursued the proper course of ejecting from their benefices, all such ministers as would not conform to the rules of the Church. They were

few in number, and yet this was complained of as one of the most grievous persecutions recorded in history! Had Bancroft confined himself to this, acting uniformly upon the plain principle, that they who entered into the service of the Church were bound to observe its institutions, his conduct would have been equally politic and just. A minister estimable in all respects, saving that he troubled himself and others with those busy scrupulosities which were the disease of the party, told him in private, that it went against his conscience to conform, and therefore he must submit to be deprived. Bancroft asked him how then he would be able to subsist? He replied, "that nothing remained, but to put himself on divine Providence, and go a-begging."... "You shall not need that," the primate answered, "come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance." There was a spirit of true benevolence in this, that might have prevailed with tempers which no rigour could subdue. But Bancroft had neither the wisdom nor the moderation of Parker and Whitgift. He framed canons by which all persons who spoke in derogation of the Church of England, either as related to its doctrine or discipline, were to be excommunicated, *ipso facto.* The laws against libels were already too severe. And with an impolicy gross as his intolerance, when several

Puritan families migrated to Virginia, that they might form a church there, according to their own opinions, and great numbers were preparing to follow them; this imprudent Primate, instead of rejoicing that so many intractable spirits were willing to transport themselves out of the country, obtained a proclamation whereby they were forbidden to leave it without a special license from the King.

Bancroft's rigour was less injurious to the Church, than the counter-conduct of his successor Abbot; a man who inclined to the Puritans, first, because he sympathized with them as a Calvinist, and afterwards as a malecontent connived at nonconformity. Bancroft had nearly succeeded in weeding out the discontented ministers, who sought to subvert the Church in whose service they had engaged; under Abbot's patronage they became numerous enough to form a formidable party, and to perceive that success was within reach as well as hope. At the same time the temper with which he acted in the High Commission gave just cause of general offence. Whitgift had left only eight causes in that Court; during Abbot's primacy they increased more than an hundred-fold, and as more causes were unwisely brought under its cognizance, greater severity was shown toward the offenders. It had been Bancroft's practice, gravely to admonish

and reprove, but to pass mild sentences; under Abbot, whose disposition was as austere as his opinions, enormous fines were imposed; and thus a tribunal, which the ablest of British statesmen had deemed it necessary to establish, and of which, while it was administered according to the spirit of its institution, none but the guilty stood in fear, became a reproach to the state, and a grievance to the subject.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES I. TRIUMPH OF THE PURITANS.

The condition of the church at James's death was, to all outward appearance, flourishing as its truest friends could have desired. It was looked upon as the head of the reformed churches, honoured by foreign Protestants, and dreaded by the enemies of the Reformation. The world did not containmen of stronger talents, sounder learning, and more exemplary lives, than were to be found among its ministers; their worth was soon to be tried and proved in the furnace of adversity, and their works have stood and will continue to stand the test of time. They had maintained their cause with consummate ability against the Papists on one hand, and the Puritans on the other; and their triumph was as complete as their cause was good. But it is not by reason that such struggles are terminated. A fatal crisis, both for the church and state, was drawing on. The danger, from the time when the Puritans commenced their systematic opposition to the establishment, had been distinctly foreseen and

foretold, but the circumstances which brought on the catastrophe were not to be averted by human foresight.

James had been forced into an impolitic war by a popular clamour, which his unworthy favourite had fomented. That favourite maintained his ascendency when Charles succeeded to a war, conducted as feebly as it had been rashly undertaken, and to an exhausted treasury. The House of Commons refused supplies for a contest which was of their own seeking, and thus at the commencement of his reign Charles unexpectedly found himself at variance with his parliament. His accession had taken place at one of those critical periods at which the political as well as the human body is subject. The Commons possessed no real power or influence long after they were recognised as one of the three estates of the realm. Even when the power of the feudal nobility had been broken, some generations elapsed before they became sensible of their strength. They had crouched at the feet of Henry VIII. Elizabeth with a high hand repressed their rising spirit; but even Elizabeth might have failed in this, if her personal qualities and the uniform wisdom of her government had not imposed upon them a profound and well-deserved respect, and if the nation had not been sensible of the blessings which they enjoyed

under her singularly favoured reign. Under James, who was not more arbitrary in principle, than he was flexible in temper, they began to feel and exercise their power; and when Charles succeeded, they were in a disposition to abuse it.

A crisis had arrived at which it might have been possible, had there been prudence on both sides, to have defined and balanced the constitution, without a struggle. The needful political reform might have been accomplished with less difficulty than had attended our religious reformation, because there was less evil to be corrected. Some grievances there were which cried aloud for redress, some vexations which might easily have been removed, and in redressing them the government would have acquired both popularity and strength. But the men by whom popular opinion was directed, aimed at more than this, and Charles was surrounded by counsellors of whom some were weak and others treacherous. He used to say it was better to be deceived than to distrust; this opinion he inherited from his father, whose maxim it was, that suspicion is the disease of a tyrant. Charles distrusted no one so much as himself; and to that infirmity of purpose it was owing that he did not make himself an absolute king, after it was rendered impossible for him to govern as a constitutional one. He had nearly succeeded, when, having gained

over to his service one of the best and ablest leaders of the popular party, he tried the experiment of governing without a parliament, and raising, by his own prerogative, the necessary revenues which the Commons had persisted in withholding. The liberties of England would then have been lost, if a stronger principle than the love of liberty had not been opposed to him.

During this contention the Puritans had greatly increased in numbers and in audacity. Under Abbot's fatal protection they had got possession of too many churches both in town and country; and the preachers who had thus entered the church with the desire, if not the design, of betraying it, were powerfully aided by lecturers in London and most other popular places. Because of the superstition connected with the mass, the Puritans, falling into an opposite extreme, disparaged social prayer and thanksgiving, and attached as much importance to sermons as the Romanists to what they deemed the sacrifice of the altar. They maintained the extravagant and pernicious opinion, that the scripture had no efficacy unless it were expounded in sermons, the word no vital operation, unless it were preached from the pulpit; that prayers and sacraments, without sermons, were not merely unprofitable, but tended to further condemnation, and that

sermons themselves must be heard, not read, for it was through the ear only that they could reach the heart. There was some reason for this assertion; the heavy hand of power might have reached the preacher if he printed his inflammatory harangues, and the empty oratory by which itching ears were tickled would not have imposed upon men of honest minds and sober understanding, when they examined it at leisure by the test of common sense. The nature of public worship was better understood by the founders of the English Church. They knew that public instruction is only a part of it, and not the most important; and if in the morning, there was a sermon or homily for the edification of the elder, they thought that in the afternoon the minister was not less usefully employed in catechizing and examining the younger members of his flock.

In maintaining that preaching was the first duty of the clergy, the Puritans followed the Lollards; it was one of those errors which Bishop Pecock withstood. But it accorded with the temper of the people. Crowds were attracted not less surely by a sermon than by a pageant; and they listened to long discourses with a delight which would be unaccountable, did we not know that the pulpit possessed over the public

mind, in those days, the influence which in these is exercised by the press. When Elizabeth wished to prepare the nation for any of her measures, she began by what she called tuning the pulpits. The enemies of the monarchy and of the church had learnt this policy too; and they perverted to the furtherance of their purpose, what in its origin had been an excellent design. The parochial clergy had been well provided for by the institution of tithes, till the monastic orders, in their cupidity, deranged the system. They obtained advowsons among other grants from their devotees; and the convent to which a living was annexed, received the tithes and supplied the parish with one of its own members, or with a stipendiary curate. Less hospitality could be kept up, and the influence of the resident ministers must thus have been diminished; but the property, though diverted from its original destination, remained in ecclesiastical hands, the transfer being from the secular clergy to the regular. At the Reformation it was lost to the Church; the impropriated tithes past then with the other property of the religious houses into the hands of the spoilers. They used their patronage as unworthily as they had obtained it, bestowing their cures upon such persons as would undertake to serve them at the cheapest rate, who were of course the needy, the

ignorant, or the profligate. The scandal thus brought upon the Church became a frequent topic of indignant censure in the writings and discourses of those who had the interests of religion at heart; and at length an association was formed for the purpose of purchasing lay impropriations, and re-annexing them to the impoverished livings from which they had been severed. Large sums were raised by voluntary contributions, and intrusted to a self-constituted corporation of feoffees, consisting of four clergymen, four lawyers, and four citizens, with a treasurer, who, if the others should be balanced in opinion, possessed the casting voice. The persons who bestirred themselves with most activity in the project, and obtained the management of it, were leading men among the Puritans; and it soon appeared what insidious intentions were covered under this specious pretext. Instead of restoring to the parish church the impropriations which they purchased, they employed the revenue in establishing lecturers (removable at pleasure, and therefore dependent on them,) in market towns, and especially in such as sent members to Parliament; in supporting schoolmasters to train up youth in puritanical opinions, granting exhibitions at the University to the pupils thus trained, pensioning ministers who had been silenced for nonconformity, and assisting the families of such

as had thus suffered in their cause. The course which the feoffees pursued made their intention evident; they were manifestly the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church: they were, therefore, called into the Court of Exchequer, the feoffment condemned as being illegal, and the impropriations which they had acquired were confiscated to the King's use.

The ostensible purport of this feoffment was so unexceptionably good, that the multitude, who were incapable of understanding the dangerous end to which it was directed, joined with the enemies of the Church in lamenting its suppression; and this measure increased the animosity with which Laud, the new Primate, was assailed. His love of learning, his liberal temper, his munificence, and his magnanimity would have made him an honour and a blessing to the Church in its happiest ages; his ardent, incautious, sincere, uncompromising spirit, were ill adapted to that in which his lot had fallen. But the circumstances which brought on, together with his destruction, the overthrow of the Church and State, the murder of the King, and the long miseries of the nation, were many and widely various; some of remote and foreign origin, others recent and of home growth.

The establishment of the Dutch republic was one of those causes. Nothing in the history of

the modern world had as yet so strongly and so worthily excited the sympathy of upright and intelligent minds, as the struggle in which the Netherlanders engaged for their civil and religious liberties. Never was good cause more virtuously and gloriously defended. But by those wars the way was prepared for that preponderance of the French power which has produced such evils to Europe, and in all human likelihood will yet produce more: and as the doctrinal disputes, which in their consequences subverted the church of England, were principally derived from the synod of Dort, so from the Dutch wars were the seeds of English republicanism imported. English and Scotchmen were trained in those wars as soldiers of fortune, ready to embark in any cause. A great proportion of the trading part of the community, especially of the Londoners, seeing the commercial prosperity of the Dutch, imputed it to the form of their commonwealth, for they were too ignorant to know what had been the previous condition of the Low Countries. And at the same time many of the higher classes had imbibed from their classical studies prejudices in favour of a popular government, which are as congenial to the generous temper of inexperienced youth, as they are inconsistent with sound knowledge and mature judgement. Thus while some men of surpassing

talents were so infatuated with political theories that, for the prospect of realizing them, they were willing to incur the danger and the guilt of exciting a civil war, others were ready to co-operate with them for the hope of destroying episcopacy, and establishing, with the discipline of Geneva, the irreversible decrees of Calvinism by rigorous laws. And they who for these secret purposes, which they dared not as yet avow, systematically attacked the government, were strengthened by the aid of many wise and moderate men, (the best of the nation,) who, from the purest motives, opposed the injurious measures of the Crown, till the same sense of duty which had induced them to resist it in its strength, made them exert themselves and sacrifice themselves for its support in its hour of weakness and distress. To these were added those who, being neither under the restraint of good principles, nor the delusion of erroneous ones, cared not whether they aggrandized themselves by compelling the Crown to grant them honours and emoluments, or by overthrowing it and sharing in its spoils; the crafty, who looked for opportunities of promoting their own interest in the troubles which they fomented; and they who from timidity and wariness adhered always to the strongest side, though with no worse motives than that of preserving themselves and their families from ruin.

While these persons swam with the stream, they whose determination it was to shake the throne and to subvert the altar, practised without scruple any means whereby their design might be promoted. One of their most effectual arts was to possess the people with an opinion that the King in his heart favoured popery, and that Laud was seeking to re-establish it. In both cases the imputation was nefariously false. Charles had inherited his father's wise and tolerant feelings toward the Romanists. Had it been possible to bring about a reunion with the Romish Church, preserving the principles and the independence of the Church of England, he would gladly have co-operated in a measure so devoutly to be wished. But knowing that the difficulties were insuperable, he contented himself with endeavouring to lessen the evils of the separation as far as his power might extend; and in the intercourse of courtesy which he maintained with Rome, he made known his resolution that no Catholic under his reign should suffer death on the score of religion. Laud heartily accorded with the King in these feelings and intentions; but the papal court was not tolerant enough to understand their conduct; that which proceeded from humanity and wisdom and Christian charity, was supposed at Rome to indicate an unsettled faith; hopes were entertained there

of the King's conversion, and a Cardinal's hat was actually offered to the Primate. The calumny, therefore, that they were in collusion with the Papal Court, was easily raised by bigoted or designing men, and greedily received by the multitude, who were then in the delirium of fanatical zeal: and to this day it is audaciously repeated, in defiance of the most conclusive evidence of history and the most notorious and indubitable facts. But the zealots of faction are neither capable of shame nor of remorse. For never were two men more conscientiously attached to the Church of England, more devoutly convinced of its doctrines, more deeply sensible of its inestimable value to the nation, than this King and this Primate, who, in their lives, were the most steadfast of its defenders, and the most munificent of its benefactors, and in their deaths the most illustrious of its martyrs.

The charitable temper of Laud toward the Catholics, and the humanity with which he sometimes interfered in behalf of the imprisoned priests, might alone have rendered him unpopular among the Puritans. But his zeal for the Church over which he presided entitled him to their hatred; and the clear knowledge, which, like his predecessors, Parker and Whitgift, he possessed of their ends and aim, drew upon him the rancorous and deadly hatred of the factions

who were now leagued against the state. That knowledge he expressed in a sermon preached at the opening of Charles's first Parliament. "They," said he, "whoever they be, that would overturn *sedes ecclesiæ*, the seats of ecclesiastical judgement, will not spare, if ever they get power, to have a pluck at the throne of David; and there is not a man that is for purity, all fellows in this Church, but he is against monarchy in the State. And certainly either he is but half-headed in his own principles, or he can be but half-hearted to the House of David."

His first act, upon being made Dean of the Chapel, displayed the sense of duty with which he entered upon his functions. It had been the ill custom of the court, during the preceding reign, that whenever the King came into his closet, which looked into the Chapel, the prayers were immediately broken off, and the anthem begun, that the preacher might without delay ascend the pulpit. Justly disliking this, Laud requested his Majesty that he would be present every Sunday at the liturgy as well as the sermon, and that at whatsoever part of the service he might enter, the minister should regularly proceed with it; Charles not only assented to his request, but thanked him for the admonition. Had he met with the same good intentions and sense of duty in the whole of his Clergy, which

he found in his Sovereign, the task of restoring discipline would have been easy. But Abbot had been so wilfully remiss, that every pragmatical or discontented clergyman did with the service as he thought fit, till inconformity had become well nigh general. It was difficult to curb the license which had thus begun to plead privilege in its defence; still more so to correct the sour spirit of Calvinism with which the Clergy were now leavened. The zeal with which he attempted this necessary reform was not always accompanied with discretion; and such is always the malignity of faction, that while his virtues, his learning, and his splendid liberality were overlooked, his errors and weaknesses were exaggerated, his intentions traduced, and even his best actions represented as crimes.

His reverence for antiquity, his love for the pomps and ceremonies of worship, and the impression which he allowed to be made upon his mind by dreams and imagined omens, exposed him to a charge of superstition, from those who were so superstitious themselves, that they accused him of having brought on tempests and shipwrecks, by omitting a prayer for fine weather in the last form of service for a fast day, that day having been appointed at a time when the harvest had just happily been won! At the

same time he was loudly arraigned for profaneness, because the King, as his father had done before him, published a declaration authorizing lawful sports on Sundays, in opposition to the Sabbatarian notions, with which the Puritans were possessed. These factious people, although impatient of any observances which the institutions of their country enjoined, were willing to have imposed upon themselves and others obligations far more burthensome: they would have taken Moses for their lawgiver, so ill did they understand the spirit of the Gospel; and they adopted the rabbinical superstitions concerning the sabbath, overlooking or being ignorant that the sabbath was intended to be not less a day of recreation than of rest.

The motives for this declaration were unobjectionably good; but the just liberty which in happier times, and under proper parochial discipline, would have been in all respects useful, proved injurious in the then distempered state of public feeling. It displeased the well-intentioned part of the Calvinized Clergy, and it was abused in officious triumph by those who were glad of an opportunity for insulting the professors of a sullen and dismal morality. Laud's unpopularity was further increased, by his enjoining that the communion-table should be placed in the chancel, and decently railed in, and by his practice

of bowing toward it, which his enemies considered to be a mark of popish superstition. Offence was taken also, because the University of Oxford, to which he was a most munificent and judicious benefactor, addressed him by the titles of His Holiness, and Most Holy Father; and because he publicly declared that, in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, he would, when their merits were equal, prefer the single to the married men. But nothing exasperated the feeling of the people against him so much, as the inhuman sentences passed in the Star Chamber upon Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, as libellers. They were condemned to a fine of five thousand pounds each, to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure: and Prynne's being a second offence, the stumps of his ears were cut off and he was branded in both cheeks. The sentence was as bravely endured as it was cruelly performed, and the sufferers, already popular for their cause, became more so for their fortitude. The whole odium fell upon Laud, partly because the libels, which were of the foulest and most atrocious kind, were particularly directed against him; but still more, because, by a series of systematic libelling and slander, he had been made the peculiar object of vulgar hatred. No regard was paid to the fact, that every member of the court concurred in

the sentence, including some who were deeply implicated in the intrigues against the state; and as little was it considered that the principles which these criminals disseminated tended directly to excite rebellion, and that they aimed at nothing short of the destruction of those who opposed them. Prynne himself lived to be sensible of this, and to acknowledge in his old age that, "if the King had cut off his head, when he only cropt his ears, he had done no more than justice, and had done God and the nation good service."

But that which drew most obloquy and heaviest persecution upon the heads of the Clergy, was the promulgating a body of Canons wherein an oath was enjoined for preventing all innovations in doctrine and government. By this oath the Clergy declared their approbation of the Church of England both in doctrine and dicipline, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and pledged themselves neither directily or indirectly to bring in any popish tenets, nor subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome, nor consent ever to alter its Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, *&c.*, as it was at that time established. All Clergymen were required to take this oath on pain of suspension and deprivation. No one who had conscientiously entered the ministry could object to its purport, and it was so worded

that by every untainted mind it might have been taken as honestly as it was meant. Nevertheless an outcry was easily raised against it in those evil times, as if the common form of speech which had been used to save a needless enumeration of offices, covered some insidious meaning, and therefore it was branded with the name of the *et cætera* oath. A clamour of this kind, which bids defiance to reason, is always favourable to the views of faction.

More formidable objections were brought against the first Canon, wherein it was declared that Monarchy is of divine right; that it is treasonable to set up any independent coercive power, either papal or popular; and that for subjects to bear arms against their King upon any pretence whatsoever, is to resist the power ordained of God. This was touching the plague-sore of the age; for it was a doctrine which some of the Clergy in their zeal against the seditious spirit of the Puritans, and others more inexcusably for the purpose of recommending themselves to court-favour, had carried to an extreme hardly less dangerous than that to which it was opposed. Dr. Manwaring in particular had preached, that the authority of Parliament was not necessary for imposing taxes, but that the King might levy them by his own royal will and pleasure, which in such cases bound the subject's conscience on

pain of damnation. For this he was condemned by the House of Lords to be imprisoned during pleasure, fined one thousand pounds, suspended for three years, disabled for ever from preaching at Court, and declared incapable of any ecclesiastical or secular preferment. He made a humble submission on his knees before both houses, acknowledging that he had preached rashly, scandalously and unadvisedly, and entreating pardon of God, the King, the Parliament, and the Commonweal, for the dangerous errors which he had committed. But the opinions which he thus renounced, were too congenial to those in which the King had been trained; and Charles, not satisfied with remitting the fine (which would have been a commendable act of compassion), most unfitly heaped preferment upon him, in disregard of his sentence, and finally promoted him to the bishopric of St. David's. It was too plain that he had been rewarded not for his submission, but for the opinions which had exposed him to punishment. Even moderate men therefore, interpreting this Canon by the known feelings of the Court, deemed it highly reprehensible, and imputing to it a wider meaning than the words themselves conveyed, considered it as asserting an absolute power in the Crown.

Yet it is apparent that in framing these Canons Laud proceeded not only (as he always did) with

the best intentions for the Church, but in a conciliatory temper. Ceremonies, to which he was devoutly attached, were merely recommended, not enjoined, and they who should observe or omit them were exhorted to judge charitably of each other; stricter measures against popish recusants were prescribed, than he as an individual could have approved, and regulations were made for preventing the abuses of ecclesiastical power. But whatever Laud did was maliciously interpreted. The Canons too were formed in a Convocation, which, meeting as usual with Parliament, should have broken up, according to custom, when Parliament was dissolved: but as the dissolution took place before the Clergy had completed these laws, or voted their subsidy, the Assembly was continued during the King's pleasure, in order to complete its business, by virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal. There was a precedent for this in Elizabeth's reign, and the Judges had given their opinion in its favour. The legality therefore of its continuance would not have been denied, if the enemies of the Church had regarded either the reason or the justice of the case; but they were as ready to cry out for the rigorous observance of the law, when it suited their purposes, as to trample upon it when it opposed them.

Laud had long seen the cloud gathering over

the Church of England. He knew also his own danger, from those who were possessed with the spirit of sectarian rancour, and from an ignorant populace rendered ferocious by all the arts of faction. He had privately and publicly been threatened in papers, which denounced him as a wretch, whom neither God nor the world could suffer to live; and his house had been attacked by a mob at midnight. But he, being as courageous as he was innocent, confided in his integrity, and in that plain evidence of good intentions which was borne by all his actions. In a diary which he meant that no eye but his own should see, he had written this prayer: "May God so love and bless my soul, as I declare and endeavour that all the never-to-be-enough deplored distractions of the Church may be composed happily to the glory of his name." His plans for the advantage of the Church, and for the promotion of sound learning, were of the most munificent kind; and he had employed his fortune as well as his influence in carrying them into effect. From his own private means he had endowed a chapel in his native town of Reading, enlarged St. John's College at Oxford, where he had been bred, established an Arabic lecture in that University, and presented to the Bodleian Library as many Greek and Oriental manuscripts as he could procure from the East. He annexed commendaries to

five of the smaller bishoprics, and intended in the same manner to increase the revenues of all that needed augmentation. He raised funds for repairing St. Paul's, which had been materially injured by fire, and by continuing those funds after the repairs should be completed, it was his intention to pursue the plan of buying in impropriations, and re-annexing them to the churches from which they had been severed. At his request the King had restored to the Church of Ireland all the impropriations yet remaining in the Crown: and had the Government continued undisturbed, it cannot be doubted that Charles would heartily have entered into his plans for improving the condition of the inferior Clergy; one means, and not the least effectual, of removing the reproach which unworthy ministers brought upon the establishment. It was well said by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, one of the most upright and able men of that age, that scandalous livings cannot but have scandalous ministers: that poverty must needs bring contempt upon the Clergy among those who measure men by the acre and weigh them by the pound, which indeed is the greatest part of men; that to plant good ministers in good livings, was the strongest and purest means to establish true religion; that the example of Germany ought to be a warning to us, where the reformed ministers, though grave and learned

men, were neglected and despised by reason of their poverty; and that it is comely and decent that the outward splendour of the Church should hold a proportion, and participate with the prosperity of the temporal estate.

By steadily enforcing discipline, Laud corrected many of the disorders at which his predecessor had connived. The Churches were placed in decent repair, the service was regularly performed, the sacrament reverently administered. They who would not follow the rubric were silenced; and by refusing to ordain any person, except to a cure of souls, the number of Calvinistic Lecturers was diminished, and of those who, being retained as Chaplains in the families of private gentlemen, disgraced the Church by conforming to the humours and fancies of their patrons, by their incapacity, or by the irregularity of their lives. At the same time, through his munificent encouragement of learning, and his judicious patronage, means were taken for supplying the establishment with men every way qualified for their holy office. The most zealous of the nonconformists, alike impatient of submission or of silence, withdrew from the kingdom; some to Holland, others to New England, whither the most strenuous of their parliamentary adherents, believing that the triumph of the Establishment was complete, would have fol-

lowed them, if the vessel in which they were actually embarked had not been embargoed. From that act events of greater importance to society resulted, than was depending upon the ship which carried Cæsar and his fortunes; for Pym, Hambden, and Cromwell were on board. Had these men been allowed to emigrate, the kingdom might have remained in peace, but it would have been under an absolute government, the tendency of which is inevitably to corrupt the rulers and degrade the nation.

Hitherto the course of civil and of ecclesiastical affairs during this reign had in no degree depended upon each other. The course which the hierarchy pursued would have been the same, had the government been as popular as in the days of Elizabeth; it was in fact strictly conformable to the scheme of Church policy, which that Queen and her great minister Burleigh had approved. The obnoxious policy of the Court proceeded not from any spirit of bigotry or persecution, (no former government had been so tolerant,) but from the difficulties wherein it was involved, first by the injustice of the Commons in withholding supplies for a war which they themselves had excited, and then by arbitrary measures adopted less from inclination than in self-defence, but carried too far, and persisted in too long. Men and parties, the most opposite in

character and views, were combined therefore against a system, which, in whatever manner it had arisen, was plainly inconsistent with the liberties of the nation; and thus wise and honourable and loyal men, the true friends of the constitution, were engaged for a time, as if in a common cause, with those who aimed at establishing a sort of Venetian oligarchy, others whom nothing but a wild democracy would content, and others wilder still, who were for levelling thrones, dignities, and estates, to prepare the way for the kingdom of Christ. Their madness was not yet avowed; it was kept from breaking forth by the salutary restraint of ecclesiastical discipline. The purposes of the aristocratic republicans were more matured as well as more feasible, and the opportunity which they sought was afforded by an explosion in Scotland.

The reformation in that kingdom had been carried on with greater violence than in England, the government having been opposed to it at first, and afterwards too weak to direct its course. The turbulent nobles shared among themselves the spoils of the Church; and the fierce, uncompromising, high-minded, hard-hearted zealots, by whom the storm was raised, encouraged the populace to demolish the Abbeys and Cathedrals. They had not, however, been allowed to construct the Church Government altogether upon

the Genevan model, for episcopacy was still retained in it; and James, when his authority was established, took measures for restoring to the Bishops the temporalities of which they had been despoiled, for bettering the condition of the Parochial Clergy, and for assimilating the service to that of the English Church; and he enjoined his successor to go on with what he should leave incomplete. These measures alarmed the great landholders, who dreaded lest the estates of which they had tortuously possessed themselves should be resumed; and provoked the Puritanical Clergy, to whom every vestige of Catholicism was an abomination, but who had succeeded to the intolerance of the Catholic priesthood, to their assumed infallibility, and were now claiming to inherit their spiritual despotism. These persons were joined by the discontented and the desperate, all who by means of public confusion hoped to advance or to retrieve their fortunes. On the part of the English Government there was a culpable disregard of forms and usages, as if it relied too proudly upon its meritorious intentions; on the part of its Scotch ministers there was imprudence in some, treachery in others. A popular commotion was easily raised, and then craftily directed. The people bound themselves by a solemn covenant to resist all innovations in reli-

gion, to the uttermost of that power which God had put into their hands; and not to be diverted from their course by allurement or terror, word or writ, but, whatever aspersion of rebellion might be cast upon them, labour to restore the purity and liberty of the Gospel. A saving clause was inserted for the defence of the King's Majesty, his person and authority, and the peace of the kingdom; and a solemn engagement was made to keep themselves and those under them, both in public and private, within the bounds of christian liberty, and to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness and righteousness, and of every duty owing to God and man.

The people, who through their fear of Popery were excited to this rebellious combination, were too ignorant to perceive how closely their leaders were imitating some of those very things, which had rendered the papal cause deservedly odious; they did not know that the men, who, by means of the pulpit and the press, were stirring them to rebellion, used those very maxims and arguments of the Jesuits, which had rendered the penal laws against the Catholics necessary; and that the covenant itself was an exact counterpart of that league, which had brought upon France an age of civil war and universal suffering. The storm was soon raised. The Scotch were in treasonable communication with Richelieu and

the French government; the heads of the popular party in England, with the Scotch. The resources of the government, which, though unduly raised, had been providently, as well as worthily, employed, were soon exhausted in the contest; for Charles was betrayed by his servants, by his generals, and still more fatally, by his own indecision. Necessity compelled him to call a Parliament; it was hastily dissolved through the rash or malicious conduct of an unfaithful minister: the indiscreet dissolution increased the discontent of the nation; another Parliament was summoned, in which the enemies of government by their activity and talent, more than by their numbers, immediately took the lead; and they commenced those systematic attacks upon the crown, which were intended to make the Sovereign either their victim or their instrument.

Prynne and his fellow sufferers were now released by order of Parliament; many who thought them well deserving of punishment, pitied them nevertheless for the cruelty with which they had been punished: others procured their enlargement for the purpose of letting them loose against the state, and prepared for them a triumphant entry into London. The attack upon the Church was begun by passing a resolution, that the Clergy had no power to make any canons without common consent in Parliament, though no other me-

thod had ever been pursued: and the Bishops were impeached for high treason upon this ground. They were reviled for the part which they bore in state affairs; and yet no persons took a greater share in national concerns, than the very preachers by whom they were reproached with most vehemence on that score. None were so active in political intrigue as the seditious Clergy. If petitions tending to subvert the civil and ecclesiastical constitution were to be got up; if the subscriptions of honest men were to be obtained to a moderate paper, and transferred to an inflammatory one, which they conscientiously disapproved; if mobs were to be collected for intimidating the House of Lords; if a cry was to be raised for the blood of an individual whom the faction feared or hated; if the trumpet of rebellion was to be blown, the Puritanical Clergy performed these services for their friends in Parliament. And it is worthy of notice that the most active in this work of wickedness were not the men who had been suspended for nonconformity, but those of Abbot's school, who, complying with the rubric as long as they stood in fear of Laud's vigilant superintendence, had hitherto enjoyed the benefices of the Church, while they waited for an opportunity to pervert its doctrine, overthrow its discipline, and proscribe its forms.

The Parliament began by marking Strafford

for destruction, because they feared him. From hatred and the viler motive of gratifying a deluded multitude, they accused Laud also of high treason. He had long known that the rabble thirsted for his blood, but this he said "was strange news to his innocency, having to the uttermost of his understanding served the King with all duty and faithfulness, and without any known or wilful disservice to the state there-while." So that when the charge was made, he declared with honest indignation his persuasion that not a man in the house believed it in his heart. The Scotch also were instigated to present a memorial against these illustrious victims, as odious incendiaries, who had caused all the present calamities. Laud was committed to the Tower, and left there in the hope that age and imprisonment would free his persecutors from further trouble. The impeachment against Strafford was vigorously pursued; it was intended to deprive the Bishops of the right of voting in his cause, upon the plea that it was a case of blood, in which the canons forbade them to take a part. They were persuaded voluntarily to withdraw, in the hope of obtaining favour, for the censure concerning the canons was hanging over them; and thus for the vain prospect of conciliating their declared enemies (a purpose which never has been, and never will be obtained, by any concessions arising from

fear or weakness,) they disheartened as well as displeased their friends, betrayed their own rights, and deserted an innocent and persecuted man in his hour of need. They soon perceived what was the reward of cowardice.

A petition had already been presented at the Commons by the notorious Alderman Pennington, for the total extirpation of episcopacy. As yet there were only three leading men in that house who were known to be for destroying root and branch, but these were men of great influence and ability, and two of them, Sir Henry Vane and Hambden, had the wisdom of the serpent in perfection. A bill was now brought in to take away the Bishops' votes in Parliament, and to leave them out in all commissions that had any relation to temporal affairs. Lord Falkland was persuaded to concur in this by the assurance of Hambden, that if that bill past, nothing more would be attempted to the prejudice of the Church. It past the Commons, but was not even committed by the Lords. Upon this a bill for the utter eradication of bishops, deans and chapters, and all offices dependent on them, was prepared by St. John; and Sir Arthur Haslerig, in conjunction with Vane and Cromwell, who now began to appear among the rooters as they were called, prevailed upon Sir Edward Dering to bring it forward.

Sir Edward Dering was a man of fine person and upright intentions, who possessed the most dangerous of all endowments when unaccompanied with sound judgement,...a ready eloquence. He had inherited * puritanical opinions, and at a season when (in his own words) "many were more wise and some more wilful than in former time," fancied that he had devised a scheme by which the advantages of the presbyterian platform might be combined with those of an episcopal church. In this he had been influenced not more by his hereditary prejudices than by a feeling of hostility towards Laud, whom nevertheless he respected for his integrity, and honoured for his erudition. It was his fortune to begin the attack upon him by preferring a complaint of some local grievances, which, as member for Kent, he had been instructed to bring forward. The string which had thus been struck, was (said he) "of so right a tune to them that are stung with a

* It was one of the same name and family who, "preaching before Queen Elizabeth, told her, that when in persecution under her sister Queen Mary, her motto was *tanquam ovis*, as a sheep, but now it might be *tanquam indomita juvenca*, as an untamed heifer. But surely, says Fuller, the Queen retained much of her ancient motto, as a sheep, in that she patiently endured so public (and conceived causeless) reproof, in inflicting no punishment upon him, save commanding him to forbear further preaching at the Court."

tarantula, that I was instantly voiced more as they would have me than I was." He found himself "with as many new friends as the Primate had old enemies;" but this, which would have alarmed a wise man, inflated a vain one, and made him an apt instrument for the subtle revolutionists by whom, few as they still were in number, the House of Commons was in fact directed. Their present end was answered by this manifestation of their views, which would alike encourage their own faction and dismay their opponents; and they were, therefore, contented with bringing in the bill, and laying it by after the first reading, for a more convenient season.

Their next measure was to draw up a protestation (in imitation of the covenant) for the members of both houses, whereby they bound themselves to maintain "the true reformed protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England against all popery and popish innovation within this realm." And after the lords had taken it, they then, and not till then, explained that these words were "not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline, or government, nor of any rites or ceremonies of the said Church." The High Commission Court was now put down, a tribunal which during half a century had given offence to none but the enemies of the Church; its authority had

afterwards been equally extended and abused; it had taken upon itself, with questionable legality, to impose fines, and that authority having been used more frequently and more heavily after the fines had been granted by the King in aid of the reparation of St. Paul's, (a national and necessary work upon which Laud was earnestly intent,) it had become peculiarly obnoxious. But the aim of the ruling faction was destruction, not reformation; and by the same act which suppressed an arbitrary tribunal, all wholesome ecclesiastical discipline was in fact destroyed.

The House of Lords meantime appointed a committee for religion, consisting of twenty Peers and ten Bishops, who were to inquire into doctrines as well as ceremonies, and a sub-committee, consisting wholly of clergy, to prepare matters for their cognizance. The members of the latter were chiefly doctrinal Puritans, a few were rightly affected in all things to the Church whereof they were members, a larger proportion were zealots in the popular cause. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, formerly Lord Keeper, and soon afterwards Archbishop of York, was President of both committees; he was a person of great erudition and abilities; but animosity against Laud had tempted him first to actions ill-according with his station and his duty; and resentment for a persecution, which, if not originally unjust,

had been inordinately severe, betrayed him now into a more inexcusable course of conduct. The Primate in his imprisonment apprehended from this committee great dishonour to the Church, and illimitable evil. How far, indeed, Williams might have gone with the Calvinists, and what concessions he might have made to the root-and-branch men, whom no compromise could have conciliated, cannot be known. Their brethren in the Commons were too eager for triumph, and too sure of it, to wait the slow proceedings of these committees, and they brought in a bill for the suppression of deans and chapters. The arguments for this spoliation were such as base and malicious minds address to the ignorant and the vulgar, when they seek to carry into effect, by means of popular clamour, a purpose of foul injustice. They were refuted with great ability by Dr. Hacket, who was admitted to speak before the House in behalf of the dignified Clergy; by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, one of the most eloquent men in that best age of English eloquence; and by Sir Edward Dering himself, who, when he had discovered too late at what the reformers were aiming, came forward manfully, and proved the uprightness of his own intentions, by atoning, as far as was in his power, for the errors into which he had been beguiled.

The party were not disheartened though their

measures were sometimes defeated in the Commons, and sometimes rejected by the Lords. As the slightest introduction of morbific matter into the human system suffices to induce disease or death, so when destructive opinions are once avowed in a legislative body, they continue to work till the crisis is produced; the very strength of evil consisting in its restlessness and activity. The puritanical members were always at their post, always alert, and on the watch for every occasion; their opponents too often absented themselves from the House, wearied by pertinacity, or disgusted by violence; many fatally persuaded themselves that their individual presence would contribute little to the preservation of government; but advantage was taken of their absence, to carry the most mischievous questions; thus a handful of determined rooters, first by address and vigilance, then by intimidation and the help of the mob, succeeded in making Parliament speak their language; and many of the best and noblest members sacrificed at last their fortunes and their lives, defending unsuccessfully in the field, that cause which, if they had never relaxed from their duty in the senate, would never have been brought to the decision of arms.

The root-and-branch men, feeling now that audacity ensured success, and that every success increased their numbers and their strength, moved

that there might be liberty to disuse the Common Prayer, by reason that in many things it gave offence to tender consciences. The majority at once rejected the motion, well knowing that "if that which offends the weak brother is to be avoided, much more that which offends the strong;" and they voted that it should be duly observed. But on the very next day, in violation of all parliamentary rules, the Puritans, finding themselves masters of a thin House, suspended the yesterday's order, and past a resolution that the communion-table should be removed from its appointed place, the rails which enclosed it pulled down, and the chancel levelled, and that no man should presume to bow at the name of Jesus. Sir Edward Dering, who now on all occasions stood forward in defence of the Church, opposed this last infamous decree with great feeling. "Hear me," said he, "with patience, and refute me with reason. Your command is that all corporal bowing at the name Jesus be henceforth forborne.

"I have often wished that we might decline these dogmatical resolutions in divinity. I say it again and again, that we are not *idonei et competentes judices* in doctrinal determination. The theme we are now upon is a sad point. I pray you consider severely on it.

"*You know there is no other Name under Hea-*

ven given among men, whereby we must be saved. You know that this is *a Name above every name. Oleum effusum nomen ejus;* it is the carol of his own spouse. This Name is by a Father styled *mel in ore, melos in aure, jubilum in corde.* This it is the sweetest and the fullest of comfort of all the Names and attributes of God, *God my Saviour.* If Christ were not our Jesus, Heaven were then our envy, which is now our blessed hope.

"And must I, Sir, hereafter do no exterior reverence,...none at all,...to God my Saviour, at the mention of his saving name Jesus? Why, Sir, not to do it,...to omit it, and to leave it undone, it is questionable, it is controvertible; it is at least a moot point in divinity. But to deny it,...to forbid it to be done!...take heed, Sir! God will never own you if you forbid his honour. Truly, Sir, it horrors me to think of this. For my part, I do humbly ask pardon of this House, and thereupon I take leave and liberty to give you my resolute resolution. I may, I must, I will do bodily reverence unto my Saviour; and that upon occasion taken at the mention of his saving name Jesus. And if I should do it also as oft as the name of God, or Jehovah, or Christ, is named in our solemn devotions, I do not know any argument in divinity to control me.

"Mr. Speaker, I shall never be frighted from this, with that fond shallow argument, 'Oh you

make an Idol of a name!' I beseech you, Sir, paint me a voice; make a sound visible if you can. When you have taught mine ears to see, and mine eyes to hear, I may then perhaps understand this subtle argument. In the mean time reduce this dainty species of new idolatry under its proper head, the second commandment, if you can: and if I find it there, I will fly from it *ultra Sauromatas*, any whither with you.

"Was it ever heard before, that any men of any religion, in any age, did ever cut short or abridge any worship, upon any occasion to their God? Take heed, Sir, and let us all take heed whither we are going! If Christ be Jesus, if Jesus be God, all reverence, exterior as well as interior, is too little for him. I hope we are not going up the back stairs to Socinianism!

"In a word, certainly, Sir, I shall never obey your order, so long as I have a head to lift up to Heaven, so long as I have an eye to lift up to Heaven. For these are corporal bowings, and my Saviour shall have them at his name Jesus!"

It is not by eloquence and reason that men can be deterred from factious purposes. The resolutions were past and carried to the Lords, who receiving them with becoming indignation, both at the irregularity, and the intent of such proceedings, refused to join with the Commons, and directed an order made in full Parliament, seven

months before, to be printed, enjoining that the divine service should be duly performed according to law, and that all who disturbed that wholesome order should be severely punished. But the Commons, now wholly under guidance of the root-and-branch men, commanded the people of England to submit to their direction and disregard the order of the Lords, trampling thus upon the privileges of the Peerage, as they had already done upon those of the Clergy and of the Throne. For the faction had now advanced so far, that they treated with contemptuous disregard the forms of law and the principles of the Government, except when it was convenient to wrest them to their own purposes, and then indeed they were insisted on with the utmost rigour of tyranny. In their spirit of contempt for ancient usages, when the house adjourned they appointed a Committee to transact business during the recess, which was in fact little short of committing the Government into their hands; and the first act of the Committee thus unconstitutionally appointed, was to exercise their usurped jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, sending forth their orders to be read in all Churches, and authorizing the parishioners of any parish to choose a lecturer, and maintain him at their own charge. Immediately the London pulpits, and those in the larger provincial towns, where the Puritans had

obtained a footing, were manned with preachers, ministers, not of peace and Christian morality, but of hatred, violence and rebellion, who, as if they studied scripture merely to distort it, applied its denunciations directly against the Bishops and the order of the Church; and with scarce the semblance of a cover, against the King and the frame of the State also. They did this with the confidence of entire impunity, having now obtained that liberty of speech and of the press, which they desired, that is, unrestrained license for their own party, and the power of punishing any who should speak or write against them, with a vigour beyond the law. They exercised this power in the case of Dr. Pocklington, one of the King's chaplains, who had written a treatise against that superstitious observance of the Sabbath, which the Puritans were endeavouring to enforce, and another, concerning the antiquity of altars in Christian Churches; questions which he had discussed with becoming temper and moderation, as well as with competent erudition and sound judgement. And for this he was, by sentence of the House of Lords, prohibited from ever coming within the verge of the King's courts, deprived of all his livings, dignities and preferments, and disabled from ever holding any place or dignity in Church or Commonwealth. The books were ordered to be burnt by the hangman, and the

author was saved from further punishment only by timely death.

As soon as the order respecting the altar was issued, the Puritans broke loose: painted windows were demolished, rails torn up, monumental brasses stolen, tombs defaced and destroyed. It was now plainly seen what might be expected from their full triumph, when such was their conduct upon the first success. Wherever a few zealots led the way, a rabble was easily collected to bear their part, for the love of mischief, or the hope of plunder, the sectarians suffering and encouraging these outrages, for the pleasure of insulting the loyal Clergy, and showing their contempt and hatred of the Church. The authority was in their hands now, and never had the High Commission Court, in its worst days, so tyrannically abused its power... If any were found virtuous enough to oppose them, it was sufficient to complain of such persons to the House of Commons, for words of dangerous consequence, and they were forthwith, without a trial, punished as malefactors, by arbitrary fine and imprisonment.

With the same contempt of established usages the root-and-branch men brought in again the Bill for taking away the Bishops' votes in Parliament, though it had been thrown out in the former part of the session; that objection they treated with contempt, affirming that the good

of the kingdom absolutely depended upon this measure. And as the King at this time filled up the vacant sees, though he had named in every instance men of great eminence, and absolutely without reproach, it was proposed in the Commons, that the King should be desired to make no new Bishops, till the controversy concerning the government of the Church should be ended. Failing in this, they demanded that the Bishops should have no voice upon the question of taking away their votes, as being parties; and as the Lords were not yet sufficiently intimidated to yield to this, their next motion was, that the Bishops whom they had impeached for making the Canons might be sequestered from the House, till they should be brought to judgement. In all these proceedings they were supported by the legal members of the faction, who, "prostituting the dignity and learning of their profession to the cheap and vile affectation of popular applause," made use of their knowledge of the law to pervert it, and to subvert the constitution. Petitions against episcopacy were now fabricated by a puritanical junta in London, and poured in upon Parliament; ... even the apprentices and the porters had their separate petitions prepared for them, and these precious addresses to the Legislature were backed by the rabble in whose name they were composed.

In opposition to these effusions of sectarian rancour and vulgar ignorance, counter-petitions were presented from various parts of the country, signed by the greatest and most respectable part of the gentry, and a large majority of the freeholders, speaking the real sentiments of the better and greater part of the nation, and expressing fears which were but too fully justified by the event. They represented that Bishops had been instituted in the time of the apostles; that they were the great lights of the Church in all the first general councils; that many of them had sown the seeds of religion in their blood; that we owed to them the redemption of the Gospel from Romish corruption, many of that order having been glorious martyrs in this country for the truth, and many who were yet living its strenuous defenders against the common enemy of Rome; that their government had been so long approved and established by the common and statute laws of this kingdom, and nothing in their doctrines dissonant from the rule of God, or the articles ratified by law. It had consisted with monarchy ever since the English monarchy was Christian; and when they were now called upon to try whether any other form of Church government can or will, they could not but express a great fear of what was intended, and what was likely to ensue. They apprehended an ab-

solute innovation of Presbyterian Government; "whereby," said the petitioners, "we, who are now governed by the canon and civil laws, dispensed by twenty-six Ordinaries, easily responsible to Parliament for any deviation from the rule of the law, conceive we should be exposed to the mere arbitrary government of a numerous presbytery, who, together with their ruling elders, will arise to near forty thousand Church Governors, and with their adherents, must needs bear so great a sway in the Commonwealth, that, if future inconveniences shall be found in that government, we humbly offer to consideration, how these shall be reducible by Parliament, how consistent with monarchy, and how dangerously conducible to anarchy." They represented that the liberties of the Clergy had been indulged to them by Magna Charta, granted and confirmed by many Kings, and about thirty Parliaments in express acts: the violation of that charter, by an intrenchment upon the rights of the lay subject, was justly accounted a great grievance; and if the rights and liberties of the Clergy were taken away, any of us would have cause to fear that his own might be next in question.

Sir Thomas Aston, who presented one of these petitions, was reprimanded by the House, and persons were brought before its bar, to be censured for printing and dispersing it: but the se-

ditious petitioners were favourably received, and thanked for their zeal and their good intentions. With the same open contempt of decency, the Commons made it one of their complaints in that memorable remonstrance to the King, which was the manifesto of rebellion, that he had received petitions which they qualified as mutinous and malignant. The King replied with becoming resentment, "Have so many petitions even against the form and constitution of the kingdom, and the laws established, been joyfully received ? . . . Hath a multitude of mean, unknown, inconsiderable, contemptible persons about the city and suburbs of London, had the liberty to petition against the government of the Church, against the book of Common Prayer, and been thanked for it ? and shall it be called mutiny in the gravest and best citizens of London, in the gentlemen and commonalty of Kent, to frame petitions upon these grounds, and desire to be governed by the known laws of the land, not by orders or votes of either or both Houses ? To stir up men to a care of maintaining the discipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the reverence and solemnity of God's service, and encouraging of learning, is *mutiny!* Let heaven and earth, God and man, judge between us and these men !"

The root-and-branch men, meantime, continued to exasperate popular feeling against the Bishops, by prosecuting the charge concerning the canons, which they were for making treason; though the lawyers told them they might as well call it adultery. At length they brought in a Bill to punish these and the other members of th Convocation by fines, Laud's being fixed at the enormous sum of twenty thousand pounds; the other prelates from ten thousand pounds to one, and the inferior members from two hundred to one thousand. It does not appear that these fines were exacted. The enemies of the Church were aiming at its utter subversion, and they so soon succeeded in plundering the loyal Clergy of their whole property, that they spared themselves the trouble of collecting a part. The Palace and the Houses of Parliament were now beset with mobs crying out, No Bishops. The names of those persons who ventured to defend them were placarded as disaffected members, and the Prelates themselves were assailed with such insults and outrages, that they absented themselves from Parliament, in fear of their lives. Upon this, by advice of Williams, who had been made Archbishop of York, and having acted a base and flagitious part in aid of the faction, was rewarded with a double portion of popular abhorrence, they presented a protest to the House against all

the acts which might be done while they were deterred from doing their duties in it. Instant advantage was taken of this by the leaders of a party, who never lost any occasion that was offered them, and they committed all the Bishops who had signed it to the Tower, upon an accusation of High Treason; a charge so preposterous, that none but the most audacious and unjust of men would have preferred it. The Bill for depriving them of their seats in the House of Peers was now hurried through Parliament; and the Queen, influenced, it is believed, by her priests, who were acting under instructions from France, persuaded the King to pass it, contrary to his own judgement and conscience; an act in every respect unworthy and unwise, whereby he lost even more friends than he sacrificed.

Every concession which Charles made to faction and violence, produced the uniform and sure effect of drawing upon him fresh demands, each more unreasonable than the last. The intent was to drive him to an appeal to arms, when they should have stript him of all means for rendering that appeal formidable; but the loyalty of the great body of the nobility and gentlemen of England, who, with heroic fidelity, sacrificed their fortunes and lives in his service, rendered the contest longer and more doubtful than his enemies had expected. The faction, meantime, be-

ing masters of the capital, and acting as if the sole authority were legally vested in their hands, pursued their designs against the Church with all the unrelenting malice of inveterate and triumphant hatred. They had formed a committee for religion, which received, like an inquisition, complaints from any person against scandalous ministers. To bow at the name of Jesus, or require communicants to receive the sacrament at the altar, was cause enough for scandal now; and any thing which opposed or offended the ruling faction was comprehended under the general name of malignity, a charge as fatal to the fortunes of those against whom it was brought, as that of heresy would have been to their lives in a Catholic country. They convoked also an assembly of Divines to frame a new model of Church Government. A few of the loyal Clergy were appointed, most of whom, in obedience to the King's command, refused to appear upon an illegal summons: a large proportion of seditious preachers, who now openly professed their Presbyterian principles; some honester men, though further gone in the disease of the age, who, having emigrated to Holland, rather than submit to the order of the Church, returned now to take advantage of its overthrow; and lastly, certain members of both Houses, and some commissioners from Scotland.

One of the Assembly's first public acts was to petition Parliament, that a general fast might be appointed. This was afterwards enjoined monthly, and the sermons which on these occasions were delivered before both Houses were published by authority: they were thus presented to a deluded people, with all the authority of a Parliament, which was exercising a more despotic power than any King of England had ever pretended to claim, and of the Gospel itself, which was now perverted to encourage plunder, persecution and rebellion. "Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty!" "Turn your plough shares into swords to fight the Lord's battles!" "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood!"—was the language of these incendiary preachers.—"Vex the Midianites! Abolish the Amalekites! Leave not a rag that belongs to popery! Away with it head and tail, hip and thigh! Up with it from the bottom, root and branch! Down with Baal's altars; down with Baal's priests!" "It is better to see people lie wallowing in their blood, rather than embracing idolatry and superstition!" The effect of such language, upon a people already possessed with the darkest spirit of sectarian bigotry, was to produce a temper as ferocious as that of

the crusaders, without any generous or exalted sentiment to ennoble it. There were those among them, who, according to their own avowal, "went to that execrable war, with such a controlling horror upon their spirits from these sermons, that they verily believed they should have been accursed from God for ever, if they had not acted their part in that dismal tragedy, and heartily done the Devil's work, being so effectually called and commanded to it in God's name."

The apostle's of rebellion gloried in their work, and rejoiced in the condition to which they had reduced the country. "Thousands in England, which would have taken up arms to fight for the Service Book," said one of these incendiaries, "have been so hammered and hewed by the continuance of God's judgements upon us, that now they are come to this, ... let the Parliament and Assembly do what they will with prelacy and liturgy, so the sword may be sheathed! Now truth shall be welcome, so they may have peace! Our reformation would have been very low, had not God raised the spirit of our reformers by the length of these multiplied troubles. As in matters of state, the civil sword, being so indulgent, would not take off delinquents, therefore, the Lord still renews the commission of the military sword, to do justice till his counsel be fulfilled;

and in the affairs of the Church, many poor deluded people in England were fond of these needless ceremonies, who probably would not have been weaned from them, had not God whipped them off by the continuance of their troubles!" "This vineyard," said another belwether of rebellion, to the House of Commons, "whereof God hath made you keepers, cannot but see that nothing is wanting on your part, for you have endeavoured to fence it by a settled militia; to gather out malignants as stones; to plant it with men of piety as choice vines; to build the tower of a powerful ministry in the midst of it; and also to make a winepress therein for the squeezing of delinquents."

As the Parliament, now that the power was in their hands, committed the very same oppressive measures, which had been the first and only solid grounds of reproach against the King, such as illegal arrests, arbitrary punishments, breach of privileges, and the imposition of taxes without consent of the other estates, in all which their little finger was heavier than his loins; so did the puritanical Clergy, who, in their horror of popery and hatred of episcopacy, had brought about a civil war, assume to themselves the most dangerous power of the Romish priesthood, and lay upon the consciences of their fellow subjects a yoke tenfold heavier than that of which they

had complained as intolerable. The Pope's claim to the keys of St. Peter was not more dangerous to the civil authority, than their pretension to the sceptre of Christ; they maintained a divine right in Presbytery; voted it in the Assembly of Divines, and would have carried a vote to the same effect in the Commons, if Whitelock (a man of good feelings and intentions, who adhered to a bad cause only because he wanted courage to suffer in a good one,) had not by his opposition saved the house from the absurd disgrace. The arguments which they set forth in support of their favourite doctrine, that the radical power of government belongs to the people, who have consequently a right to depose kings and to punish them, were produced in the very words of Father Persons, the most mischievous and treasonable of his books being now with little alteration prest into the Puritan cause. They exercised a dispensing power, by virtue of which the parliamentary soldiers, who had been made prisoners and released by the King upon their oath that they would never bear arms against him again, were induced to break that oath, and engage a second time in rebellion. Indulgence for tender consciences had been their cry, when, rather than wear the surplice, use the sign of the cross in baptism, kneel at the sacrament, and bow at the name of their Redeemer, they were

labouring to excite a civil war: yet even then, such was their own bloody intolerance, they complained of the King for not putting to death the Romish priests who were in prison, and more than once required that the laws against them should be put in execution; . . . though these laws had never been executed, except in cases of those treasonable practices, which had rendered their enactment necessary. One priest, John Goodman by name, for reprieving whom they had reproached the King, actually petitioned Charles, rather to let him suffer than increase the discontent of the nation, by continuing his mercy to him. The King washed his hands of this innocent blood, by remitting the case entirely to Parliament, declaring at the same time, that neither under Elizabeth, nor his father, had any priest been put to death merely for religion: and Goodman escaped, because they were ashamed of giving orders themselves for an act of cruelty, which they would fain have compelled the King to commit. But so strictly did they enforce restrictive laws, which nothing but the plainest state necessity could ever justify, that the Catholics were compelled to perform their worship at midnight, and that always in fear and danger.

By one of their laws the theatres were suppressed, and the players to be fined for the first offence, whipped for the second. By another,

maypoles were to be taken down as a heathenish vanity, abused to superstition and wickedness. Some zealots having voluntarily agreed to fast one day in the week, for the purpose of contributing the value of the meal to what they called the good cause, an ordinance was passed, that all within the bills of mortality should pay upon every Tuesday, for three months, the value of an ordinary meal for themselves and families; and in case of non-payment, distress was to be made for double the amount, the intent of this being, that the burden might not rest alone upon the willing party. The monthly fast, happening to fall on Christmas-day, was ordered to be observed with the more solemn humiliation; because, said these hypocrites, it may call to remembrance our sins and the sins of our forefathers, who have turned this feast, pretending the memory of Christ, into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights.

Many of those venerable structures, which were the glory of the land, had been destroyed at the Reformation, by the sacrilegious rapacity of those statesmen and favourites, to whom they had been iniquitously granted. The remainder were now threatened with the same fate by the coarse and brutal spirit of triumphant puritanism. Lord Brooke (who had succeeded to the title and estates, not to the feelings and opinions of one of

the profoundest thinkers whom this or any other country has produced,) said, he hoped to see the day, when not one stone of St. Paul's should be left upon another. A sentiment of vulgar malice towards Laud may have instigated the ruling faction, when they demolished with axes and hammers the carved work of that noble structure, and converted the body of the church into a stable for their troopers' horses. But in other places, where they had no such odious motive, they committed the like, and even worse indecencies and outrages, merely to show their hatred of the Church. It was such acts of sacrilege, which brought a scandal and an odium upon the reformed religion in France and the Low Countries, and stopt its progress there, which neither the Kings of France or Spain could have done, if horror and indignation had not been excited against it by this brutal and villainous fanaticism. In some churches they baptized horses or swine, in profane mockery of baptism: in others, they broke open the tombs, and scattered about the bones of the dead, or, if the bodies were entire, they defaced and dismembered them. At Sudley they made a slaughter-house of the chancel, cut up the carcasses upon the communion table, and threw the garbage into the vault of the Chandoses, insulting thus the remains of some of the most heroic men, who, in their day, defended,

and did honour to their country. At Westminster the soldiers sat smoking and drinking at the altar, and lived in the abbey, committing every kind of indecency there, which the Parliament saw and permitted. No cathedral escaped without some injury; painted windows were broken, statues pulled down or mutilated; carvings demolished; the organs sold piecemeal, for the value of the materials, or set up in taverns. At Lambeth, Parker's monument was thrown down, that Scott, to whom the palace had been allotted for his portion of the spoils, might convert the chapel into a hall; the Archbishop's body was taken, not out of his grave alone, but out of his coffin; the lead in which it had been enclosed was sold, and the remains were buried in a dunghill.

A device was soon found for ejecting the loyal clergy, all indeed who were not prepared to go all lengths with the root-and-branch men. The better to secure the assistance of the Scotch against the King, the two Houses past an act that the Covenant should be taken, whereby all who subscribed it bound themselves to endeavour the extirpation of episcopal Church government. All persons above the age of eighteen were required to take it; and such ministers as refused, were reported to Parliament as malignants, and proceeded against accordingly. No fewer than seven thousand clergymen were upon this ground

ejected from their livings; so faithful were the great body of the clergy in the worst of times. The extent of private misery and ruin, which this occasioned, aggravated in no slight degree the calamities of civil war. It was not till some years had elapsed, that a fifth part of the income was ordered to be paid to the wives and children of the sequestered ministers: the order had no retrospective effect; in most instances it was disregarded, for the principles by which the intrusive incumbents obtained their preferment, very generally hardened their hearts, ... and the claimants were wholly at their mercy; and even had it been scrupulously paid, few were the cases, wherein such a provision could have preserved the injured parties from utter want. The treatment, indeed, of the loyal clergy was to the last degree inhuman. Neither eminent talents, nor distinguished learning, nor exemplary virtues, could atone for the crime of fidelity to their order and their King. Chillingworth fell into the hands of Sir William Waller as a prisoner; he was of feeble constitution and ill at the time; but instead of showing that reverence to his person, which he would have obtained from any noble enemy, the Puritan clergy, who attended Waller's army, used him with such barbarity that he died within a few days; nor did their inhumanity cease even with his death, for Chey-

nel, one of the most outrageous preachers of the party, pronounced a speech of infamous abuse over his grave, and threw into it to rot, as he said, with its author, that book for which the name of Chillingworth ought to have been dear, not to the Church of England only, but to the whole Protestant world. In his case a peculiar degree of rancour may have been displayed, because Laud was his godfather and patron, and had reclaimed him from the Romish religion, into which he had been led astray; recovering thus for the Protestant cause, one of its ablest and most distinguished champions. But even the doctrinal Puritans, who, opposing the Church in too many points, had thereby contributed to the success of those whom nothing short of its destruction would satisfy, were involved without discrimination, and without pity, in its ruin. They came under the common appellation of malignants, and perceived, when too late, that they had been in no slight degree instrumental to their own undoing. Prideaux, the Bishop of Exeter, who was reduced to such distress*, that

* It was this Prelate, who being asked by one of his friends how he did, replied, "Never better in my life, only I have too great a stomach; for I have eaten that little plate which the sequestrators left me; I have eaten a great library of excellent books; I have eaten a great deal of linen; much of my brass, some of my pewter; and now I am come to eat iron; and what will come next I know not."

in his will, he could bequeath his children nothing but "pious poverty, God's blessing, and a father's prayers," used in his latter days to say, that though he and Laud could never understand one another till it was too late, he now reverenced no man more, for that the Primate had wisely foreseen what lay hid to many others.

Such of the loyal clergy as were only plundered and turned out to find subsistence for their wives and families as they could, or to starve, were fortunate when compared with many of their brethren. Some were actually murdered, others perished in consequence of brutal usage, or of confinement in close unwholesome prisons, or on shipboard, where they were crowded together under hatches, day and night, without even straw to lie on. An intention was avowed of selling them as slaves to the plantations, or to the Turks and Algerines; and though this was not carried into effect, it seems to have been more than a threat for the purpose of extorting large ransoms from those who could raise money, because after the battle of Worcester many of the prisoners were actually shipt for Barbadoes and sold there.

The clergy, amid all their afflictions, had the consolation of knowing that they suffered in a righteous cause; they had the sympathy and the prayers of thousands to support them, and above

all the approbation of their own hearts. Not one of them, in the depth of their earthly misery, was in so pitiable a state as the unhappy though highly-gifted person, into whose mouth the first guilty motion for destroying the fabric of the Church government had been put, by men more designing and truer to their purpose. Perceiving how he had been duped, he resisted in the manliest manner, and with his characteristic eloquence, the measures against the Church, each more violent than the former, which were now brought forward. The Puritans flattered him as long as he was their tool, and he enjoyed for a time all the honours of a hollow popularity; when they could no longer cajole him, they began to advise and to expostulate with him first, then acrimoniously to censure and severely to condemn him. Sir Edward, upon this, printed a collection of his speeches in matters of religion, for vindication of his name. In this publication he spoke of the part which he had borne in "striking the first blow at the tallest cedar on the Churches Lebanon;" still applauding himself for what he had done, but bearing a just and generous testimony to that magnanimous sufferer, whose whole merit he was not yet capable of appreciating rightly. "His intent of public uniformity," said he, "was a good purpose, though in the way of his pursuit thereof he was

extremely faulty. His book lately set forth hath muzzled the Jesuit, and shall strike the Papists under the fifth rib when he is dead and gone. And being dead, wheresoever his grave shall be, Paul's will be his perpetual monument, and his own book his lasting epitaph. It is true the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him; yet would he often of himself find ways and means to sweeten many of them when they least looked for it. Lastly, he was alway one and the same man. Begin with him at Oxford, and so go on to Canterbury, he is unmoved, unchanged. He never complied with the times, but kept his own stead till the times came up to him."

He spake also against those who had overheated a furnace that was burning hot before; and with pressing for ruin, had betrayed the time of a blessed reforming. "Take it upon you," said he, "for upon you, and the blind ignorant wilfulness of such as you, I do here charge the sad account of the loss of such a glorious reformation, as being the revived image of the best and purest ages, would with its beauty and piety have drawn the eye and heart of all Christendom unto us. The horse-leeches daughters do cry 'Give, give!' and you that might have had enough do still cry 'More, more!' . . . These things thus pressed and pursued, I do not see but on that

rise of the Kingship and Priestship of every particular man, the wicked sweetness of a popular party may hereafter labour to bring the King down to be but as the first among the Lords; and then if (as a gentleman of the House professed his desire to me) we can but bring the Lords down into our house among us again εὕρηκα, all's done! No, rather all's undone, by breaking asunder that well-ordered chain of government, which from the chair of Jupiter reacheth down by several golden even links to the protection of the poorest creature that now lives among us."

For thus vindicating himself and publishing his own speeches in Parliament, Sir Edward Dering was expelled the House, and his book was burnt by the common hangman; such was the temper of the Puritans, and such the liberty which was enjoyed under their dominion. He would also have been committed to the Tower, if he had not escaped by disguising himself in the habit of a Clergyman, and reading prayers in a church in that character. After a while he joined the King, and served in his army, till either because he had acquired a liking for the clerical functions while he had performed them, or that the calamitous state of the nation, which had wrecked his fortune, had affected his reason also, he requested the King to bestow upon him the Deanery of Canterbury. An aberration of mind, as it is the

most charitable, is also the most likely solution of his conduct; for being refused the preferment, which with such glaring inconsistency he solicited, he deserted the royal cause, and arriving at the outworks of the metropolis, under a false name, presented himself before the Parliament, as the first person who came in under their proclamation to compound for his delinquency. They committed him for the present, and afterwards discharged him upon a disgraceful petition, whereby he ruined his character without retrieving his fortune. For though he was allowed to compound, no favour was shown him; and having incurred the contempt of all parties, and the condemnation of his own heart, he ended his life in poverty and disgrace.

This most unhappy man would have gone down to the grave with a heavier weight of misery on his head, if he had lived to see the fate of that "tallest cedar on the Churches Lebanon," against which he boasted that it had been his fortune to strike the first stroke. The attack on Laud had no sooner been commenced, than his adversaries, in whom political animosity had assumed the odious character of personal hatred, gave free scope to their malignity. The base crew of libellers, by whom he was assailed through the press, were not less virulent than his parliamentary enemies. Sir Harbottle Grimston called him the sty

of all pestilential filth that had infested the state, ...the corrupt fountain that had corrupted all the streams,...the great and common enemy of all goodness and good men. When the Primate was taken from Lambeth, in custody of the officer of the black rod, hundreds of the poor neighbours waited at the gates to see him go, praying heartily for his safe return; a gratifying testimony of their grateful affection, for which he blest God and them. The articles against him were presented to the House of Lords by Pym, Hambden, and Maynard, the former pronouncing him to have been "the highest, the boldest, and most impudent oppressor that ever was an oppressor both of King and people." He was charged with endeavouring to introduce into the kingdom an arbitrary and tyrannical government, and procuring divers sermons and other discourses to be preached and published, for the better accomplishment of this traitorous design. "Truly," said Pym, "a prodigious crime, that the truth of God and his holy Law should be perverted, to defend the lawlessness of men; that the holy and sacred function of the ministry, which was ordained for instruction of men's souls in the ways of God, should be so abused, that the ministers are become the trumpets of sedition, the promoters and defenders of violence and oppression." Pym was no fanatic: his mind was too clear and logical to

deceive itself, when he thus charged upon Laud the notorious practices of his own party; and this sentence was uttered in the temper of a successful demagogue, who had cast off shame as well as compunction, to qualify himself for the course which he was determined to pursue.

The other charges were for perverting and selling justice, and taking unlawful gifts and bribes; for traitorously causing canons to be composed and published without lawful authority, and imposing in one of them a wicked and ungodly oath upon the clergy; for assuming a papal and tyrannical power, endeavouring to subvert God's true religion, set up popish superstition and idolatry instead thereof, and confederating with popish priests and Jesuits to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome; causing orthodox ministers to be suspended and otherwise grieved without just cause; traitorously endeavouring to cause discord between the Church of England and other reformed Churches; to stir up war with Scotland, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments. That Laud believed the authority of the King to be absolute, in an age when it had never been defined, is certain; and that he had borne an active part in the measures of a government, conducted upon arbitrary principles: but by no principle of law could this be construed into trea-

son. The most oppressive acts to which he had ever been consenting were far less so than the manner in which he was now prosecuted; and for the other accusations against him, those which were not frivolous were false, and must have been known to be so by the men who promoted them. The charges which the Scotch commissioners produced against him were of the same stamp, proving not less the narrowness of mind, than the malice of those who advanced them; among other things they accused him of requiring the Scotch Bishops to be present at divine service in their *whites*, of calling the Covenant ungodly, of railing against their general assembly, and of being so industrious in advancing popery, that the Pope himself could not have been more popish, had he been in his place.

The Archbishop was detained ten weeks in charge of the black rod, the enormous sum of twenty nobles a day being exacted from him for diet and custody. He was then committed to the Tower. The removal took place at noon, that being thought the fittest time for privateness when the citizens were at dinner; but the 'prentices followed him with clamours and revilings, "even beyond barbarity itself," till he entered the tower-gate. "I bless God for it," said the object of this vulgar persecution; "my patience was not moved, I looked upon a higher cause

than the tongues of Shimei and his children." There he was left for many months, to the great weakening," says he, "of my aged body and waste of my poor fortune; whereas all that I do desire, is a just and fair trial, with such an issue, better or worse, as it shall please God to give." While he was thus confined, the great oriental scholar Pocock, whom he had employed to travel and collect manuscripts in the East, returned to England, and with a becoming sense of gratitude and duty, waited upon his patron in prison. He delivered him a message from Hugo Grotius, himself at that time a fugitive, having been driven from his country by the Calvinistic party. Grotius entreated him to make his escape, if possible, and cross the sea, there to preserve himself for better times, or at least to obtain security from the malice of his enemies and the rage of a deluded people. The lord-keeper, and one of the principal secretaries, had already taken this course. Laud, however, without hesitation, answered that he could not comply with his friend's advice. "An escape," said he, "is feasible enough; yea, 'tis, I believe, the very thing my enemies desire, for every day an opportunity for it is presented, a passage being left free in all likelihood for this purpose, that I should endeavour to take the advantage of it. But they shall not be gratified by me. I am almost seventy

years old; shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life by the trouble and shame of flying? And were I willing to go, whither should I fly? Should I go into France or any other popish country, it would give some seeming grounds to that charge of popery, which they have endeavoured, with so much industry and so little reason, to fasten upon me. But if I should get into Holland, I should expose myself to the insults of those sectaries there, to whom my character is odious, and have every Anabaptist come and pull me by the beard. No; I am resolved not to think of flight; but patiently to expect and bear what a good and wise Providence hath provided for me, of what kind soever it shall be."

Orders were given that he should not be permitted to see Strafford; and this order was enforced, even when Strafford, on the night before his execution, requested the lieutenant of the Tower that, if it were possible, he might speak with the Archbishop, saying, You shall hear what passeth between us, for it is not a time now either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason. The lieutenant answered, that he was bound by his orders, and advised him to petition Parliament for that favour. No, replied Strafford; I have gotten my despatch from them, and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning a higher court, where neither partiality can be expected

nor error feared. Then turning to Usher, the Primate of Ireland, he said, "My Lord, I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the Archbishop to lend me his prayers this night, and to give me his blessing when I do go abroad tomorrow; and to be in his window, that by my last farewell, I may give him thanks for this and all his other former favours." When Usher delivered this mournful message, Laud replied, that in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second; but he feared weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure. "The next morning," says Laud, "as he past by, he turned towards me, and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever, by any at distance, taken one of another." Solemn indeed it was, beyond all example; for Strafford halted before the window, and when his old and venerable friend came to it, bowed himself to the ground, and said, My Lord, your prayers and your blessing! Laud lifted up his hands and bestowed both, and then, overcome with grief, fell to the ground senseless; while Strafford, bowing himself a second time, said, Farewell, my Lord. God protect your innocency! When the Primate recovered his senses, he said, as if fearing that what had passed might be deemed an unmanly and unbecoming weakness,

he trusted, by God's assistance, that when he should come to his own execution, the world would perceive he had been more sensible of Lord Strafford's fate than of his own.

The villainous enemies of these illustrious men published, among other falsehoods, that Strafford had bitterly cursed the Archbishop at his death, as one whose counsels had been the ruin of him and his house. The blood of one victim only made them more greedy for that of the other. Libels and doggrel ballads against the surviving object of their hatred were hawked and sung through the streets, and caricatures exhibited, in which he was represented as caged, or chained to a post; and with such things, the rabble made sport at taverns and alehouses, being as drunk with malice, as with the liquor they swilled in. He consoled himself with thinking, that he had fallen but into the same case as David, "for they that sat in the gate spake against me, and I was the song of the drunkards." Much more, and with much greater cause, was he affected by the death of an old steward, who had faithfully served him full forty and two years, and was now become almost the only comfort of his affliction and his age. His jurisdiction was now sequestered, with all his rents and profits, money was even taken from his receiver, (about fourscore pounds,) for the maintenance, it was pre-

tended, of the King's children: "God, of his mercy," said the Primate, "look favourably upon the King, and bless his children from needing any such poor maintenance!" After a severe illness, during which he lost the use of his limbs, when for the first time he was able, between the help of his man and his staff, to go to the Tower Church, the Puritan who preached introduced so much personal abuse of him in the sermon, in such foul terms, and with such palpable virulence, that women and boys stood up in the church to see how he could bear it. But he thanked God for his patience, and prayed forgiveness for his deluded persecutors. There were some who wished to transport him to New England, that the sectarians there might insult over his fall. Hugh Peters was a principal contriver of this scheme, and a motion to that effect was made in the House of Commons, but rejected; for the Parliament had determined, as in the case of Strafford, to wrest the laws to their purpose, and commit murder with all the abused forms and solemnities of justice.

Prynne, as being the Archbishop's implacable enemy, and therefore one whose malice might be trusted, was sent to seize his papers and search his person. He took not only his private diary, but also his book of private devotions, written with his own hand; "Nor could I," says Laud,

"get him to leave this last, but he must needs see what past between God and me." Prynne had been more cruelly treated than any other person by the Star Chamber; the manner in which he now revenged himself has fixed an indelible stain upon his character, which, otherwise, with all his errors, would have been entitled to respect. When he took away the papers, which the Archbishop had prepared for his defence, and all the other writings which he could find, he promised that they should be restored in three or four days; instead of fulfilling that promise, he restored only three bundles out of twenty-one, employed against him at his trial such as might seem prejudicial to his cause, supprest those which might have been advantageous, published many, embezzled some, and kept the others to the day of his death. More villainously still, when he published Laud's private diary, he omitted those passages which expressed his conscientious attachment to the Church of England, a villainy which would never have been brought to light, if Archbishop Sheldon had not obtained an order, after Prynne's death, for the restoration of such of the papers as could be found among his effects. To keep up the popular cry against their victim, it was proclaimed from the pulpit that Prynne had found a book in his pocket, which would discover great things.

The sole indulgence he could obtain was, that he might have copies of any of the papers which had been taken from him, but it must be at his own cost; this when his estates had been all confiscated and his goods sold, before he was ever heard in his own defence!

There is reason to believe that his trial had been thus long delayed, (for he had been more than two years in confinement,) because some of the party, though they were determined upon his ruin, were yet unwilling to incur the guilt and infamy of putting him to death. One of them said it would be happy both for him and the Parliament; if God would be pleased to take him out of the way... But they who once engage in iniquitous designs miserably deceive themselves, when they think that they will go so far, and no farther: one villainy begets another, one crime renders another necessary; and thus they are impelled continually downward into a depth of guilt, which, at the commencement of their career, they would have died rather than have incurred. One of these persons, (a man too who was bound in gratitude to Laud,) in answer to an observation, that the Archbishop was a good man, replied, " Be he never so good, we must now make him ill for our own sakes." Whitelock was named upon the Committee to manage the evidence against him; but he declined acting,

saying, that the Archbishop had taken special care of his breeding at St. John's College, and it would be disingenuous and ungrateful to be personally instrumental in taking away the life of his benefactor. The task of providing the evidence was intrusted to Prynne, who was never weary in seeking to revenge himself. Nothing could be more shameless than the manner in which he schooled the witnesses; but with all their tampering, the single charge against the Archbishop which would have subjected him to legal punishment, that of perverting and selling justice, was found so utterly unsupported, even by any shadow of proof, that it was abandoned upon the trial.

Well knowing to what outrages and insults he should be exposed, Laud was strongly tempted to make no defence, but throw himself upon God's mercy, rather than endure them. "But," said he, "when I considered what offence I should commit therein against the course of justice, that that might not proceed in the ordinary way; what offence against my own innocency and my good name, which I was bound both in nature and conscience to maintain by all good means; but especially what offence against God, as if he were not able to protect me, or not willing, in case it stood with my eternal happiness, and his blessed will of trial of me in the mean

time; when I considered this, I humbly besought God for strength and patience, and resolved to undergo all scorn and whatsoever else might happen to me, rather than betray my innocency to the malice of any."

Both were given him, to the comfort and admiration of his friends, and beyond the expectation of his enemies. Sergeant Wilde introduced the case by a virulent speech, in which he affirmed, that, if all former oppressions, pernicious practices, and machinations, which had been employed to ruinate our religion, laws, and liberties, were lost, they might here have been found, and drawn out again to the life: that it was a charge of treason in all and every part, treason in the highest pitch and altitude. After the fiery persecutions of Queen Mary's days, the massacres in France, the treasons against Queen Elizabeth, and the Gunpowder Plot, for any man now to go about to rebuild those walls of Jericho, and reduce us to those rotten principles of error and darkness, what could be expected, but that the people should be ready to stone him? He had exposed and prostituted the sabbath to all looseness and irreligion, and that by a law; he had made a ladder for himself to climb up to papal dignity; and it appeared by his own diary, that a Cardinal's cap had been offered him; but such was his modesty to forbear it, because

though Rome be a true visible Church, in his opinion, yet something dwelt with him that hindered it for a time, to wit, said this wicked advocate, I suppose, his dwelling here, till this his leprosy had so infected all, that there remained no other cure but the sword of justice.

Troubled as Laud was at hearing himself thus vilified, he collected himself, and requested of the Lords, that they would expect proof before they gave belief to these loud but loose assertions. Innocent as he was, and being what he was, for him to plead for life at that bar, was worse than losing it: "As for the sentence," said he, "(I thank God for it,) I am at St. Paul's ward: 'if I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die,' for, I bless God, I have so spent my time, as that I am neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die; nor can the world be more weary of me than I of it: for seeing the malignity which hath been raised against me, I have carried my life in my hands these divers years past." With regard to the charge of seeking to overthrow the laws, he said, his soul had always hated an arbitrary government, and that he had ever believed and preached that human laws bind the conscience, and had himself made conscience of observing them; "As for religion," he continued, "I was born and bred up in and under the Church of England, as it yet stands established

by law: I have, by God's blessing and the favour of my Prince, grown up in it to the years which are now upon me, and to the place of preferment which I yet bear; and in this Church, by the grace and goodness of God, I resolve to die. I have, ever since I understood aught in divinity, kept one constant tenour in this my profession, without variation, or shifting from one opinion to another for any worldly ends; and if my conscience would have suffered me to shift tenets or religion with time and occasion, I could easily have slid through all the difficulties which have prest upon me in this kind. But of all diseases, I have ever hated a palsy in religion; well knowing, that too often a dead-palsy ends that disease in the fearful forgetfulness of God and his judgements. Ever since I came in place, I laboured nothing more, than that the external public worship of God (too much slighted in most parts of this kingdom) might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be; being still of opinion, that unity cannot long continue in the Church where uniformity is shut out at the church-door. And I evidently saw, that the public neglect of God's service on the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God, which, while we live in the body, needs external

helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the uttermost of my knowledge, according both to law and canon, and with the consent and liking of the people; nor did any command issue out from me against the one, or without the other, that I know of.

"'Tis charged that I have endeavoured to bring in Popery. Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what party of men have raised this scandal upon me, nor for what end; nor, perhaps, by whom set on: but I would fain have a good reason given me, if my conscience lead me that way, and that with my conscience I could subscribe to the Church of Rome, what should have kept me here, before my imprisonment, to endure the libels, and the slanders, and the base usage of all kinds which have been put upon me, and these to end in this question for my life? ... Is it because of any pledges I have in the world to sway against my conscience? No, sure! For I have no wife nor children to cry out upon me to stay with them; and if I had, I hope the call of my conscience should be heard above them. Is it because I was loth to leave the honour and the profit of the place I was risen unto? I desire your Lordships and all the world should know, I do much scorn honour and profit, both the one and the other, in comparison of my conscience; besides, it cannot be imagined by any reasonable

man, but that if I could have complied with Rome, I should not have wanted either. Is it because I lived here at ease, and was loth to venture the loss of that? Not so neither; for whatsoever the world may be pleased to think, I have led a very painful life, and such as I could have been very well content to change, had I well known how. Let nothing be spoken against me but truth, and I do here challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell to say three words against me in point of my religion; in which, by God's grace, I have ever hated dissimulation: and had I not hated it, perhaps it might have been better with me for worldly safety than now it is. But it can no way become a Christian Bishop to halt with God."

He then stated what persons he had, by his individual exertions, preserved or reclaimed from popery. Buckingham was one, Chillingworth another. When the business of the day was over, Hugh Peters followed him out of the house and abused him, till the Earl of Essex accidentally came up, and, with an honourable feeling, delivered him from the insults of this brutal fanatic. In no case where the appearance of law was thought necessary for destroying an obnoxious individual, has the determination to destroy him ever been more decidedly manifested throughout the whole proceedings. The weightiest

proofs which could be adduced of his traitorous endeavours to introduce a tyrannical government were a passage in his diary, and a few words which he was accused of having spoken at the council table. He had entered in his diary, that, upon the Scotch rebellion, Strafford and Hamilton, and he himself, proposed a parliament, and these words followed, "a resolution voted at the board to assist the King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse," &c. There was no proof that he had advised that vote, and he demanded "whether, though the epithet peevish were a very peevish word, he might not write it in his private notes without treason?" The other charge was, that, after the dissolution of the last parliament, he had said to the King, now he might use his own power. This was attested by Sir Henry Vane the elder, whose hands were so ingrained with the blood of Strafford, that no second act of the same kind could fix a stain upon them. The Archbishop denied the words, either in terms or in sense, to the uttermost of his knowledge; and if he had spoken them, either, he said, they were ill-advised, but no treason; or treasonable, and then he ought, by law, to have been tried for them within six months. And, moreover, they were charged upon him by a single witness. "Strange," said he, "it is to me, that at such a

full table, no person of honour should remember such a speech but Sir Henry Vane. He is a man of some years, and memory is one of the first powers of man on which age works; and yet his memory so good, so fresh, that he alone can remember words spoken at a full council table, which no person of honour remembers but himself. But I would not have him brag of it; for I have read in St. Augustin, that *quidam pessimi*, some, even the worst of men, have great memories, and are *tanto pejores*, so much the worse for them. God bless Sir Henry!"

These charges, utterly untenable as they were upon any principle of law, were the weightiest which could be brought against him. The others proved only, in many instances, the falsehood of the witnesses, and in all, the malice of the prosecutors. It was made a charge of treason against him, that when, in the progress of repairing St. Paul's, it was necessary to demolish some of the houses which had been built upon it, a committee had been appointed with power to compound with the tenants, or pull the houses down if they would not compound: that the goldsmiths had been forbidden to keep their shops any where but in Cheapside and Lombard Street: and that, as appeared by his diary, he meant to support the London clergy in their claim of tithes. The

sentences of Prynne and the other libellers were brought forward as treasonable acts in him; the censures past for nonconformity and every petty case of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which could be made to appear as a grievance; the prolongation of the convocation; the canons; the language in which the University had addressed him; his having mended the painted window at Lambeth, the pictures in his gallery, the missals in his study. "True, my Lords," replied the indignant Prelate; "I had many, but I had more of the Greek liturgies than the Roman: and I had as many of both as I could get. And I would fain know how we should answer their errors if we may not have their books? I had liturgies, all I could get, both ancient and modern. I had also the Alcoran in divers copies; if this be an argument, why do they not accuse me to be a Turk?"

The trial, if so it may be called, lasted twenty days, during which Laud displayed a courage answerable to his cause and character, and a promptitude not to have been expected at his years. With such a brave innocence did he defend himself, and so utterly demolish the evidence against him, in spite of all the care with which it had been concerted, that possessed as the citizens were with the spirit of sectarian rancour, some

of them admitted he had answered many things very well, yet, they added, he must suffer somewhat for the honour of the House. On the day appointed for his defence, Prynne published his diary, garbled in some parts, and interpolated in others, artfully and wickedly; and when the Archbishop came to the bar, he saw that the book had been presented to every one of the Lords who were to pronounce sentence on him. A little while the sight troubled him, as it was designed to do, but comforting himself with that trust in God, which never for a moment forsook him through all his long affliction, he entered upon his defence, and entreated the House to bear in mind that he had been sifted to the very bran, . . . "my diary," said he, "nay, my very prayer-book taken from me, and used against me, and that in some cases not to prove, but to make, a charge. Yet I am thus far glad even for this; for by my diary your Lordships have seen the passages of my life; and by my prayer-book the greatest secrets between God and my soul; so that you have me at the very bottom: yet, blessed be God, no disloyalty is found in the one, no popery in the other." Then briefly, but forcibly, going over the charges and the evidence against him, he answered the assertion of the prosecutors, that though none of these actions were urged against him as treason, yet the result of all amounted to

it.* "I must be bold to tell your Lordships," said he, "that if no particular which is charged upon me be treason, the result from them cannot; for the result must be of the same nature and species with the particulars from which it rises, and this holds in nature, in morality, and in law. So this imaginary result is a monster in nature, in morality, and in law; and if it be nourished will devour all the safety of the subject of England, which now stands so well fenced by the known law of the land. And, therefore, I humbly desire your Lordships, not for mine, but for the public's sake, to weigh this business well before this gap be made so wide, as there will hardly be power left again to shut it."

So admirably did he vindicate himself upon the matters of fact, and so ably were the points of law argued for him by his counsel, Hearne and Hale, (afterward Sir Matthew,) that it was found impossible, even by the handful of Peers who sat in judgement on him, obsequious as they were to a tyrannical House of Commons, and

* When after this he was heard by his counsel, Serjeant Wilde, on behalf of the Commons, repeated that though it was not alleged that any one of his crimes amounted to a treason or felony, yet all his misdemeanors put together did, by way of accumulation, make many grand treasons. To which the Archbishop's advocate replied, "I crave your mercy, good Mr. Serjeant, I never understood before this time, that two hundred couple of black rabbits would make a black horse."

deep as they were in infamy, to pronounce him guilty. But the dominant faction resolved, as in Strafford's case, that when law could not be stretched to their purpose, their own authority should stand in its place; and they brought in a Bill of Attainder, which was supported less strongly by argument than by a mob of petitioners calling out for his blood: the people were actually exhorted to set their hands to this petition in the churches; and the civil authorities made no attempt to check a proceeding as illegal as it was scandalous and inhuman. Laud was admitted to speak in his own hehalf. The substance of the proceedings in the Upper House having been recapitulated against him by Mr. Brown, the clerk of that House, with less asperity than the other prosecutors had used, the Archbishop thanked him for his humanity. "This worthy gentleman," said he, "hath pressed all things as hardly against me as the cause can any way bear; that was his duty to this honourable House, and it troubles me not. But his carriage and expressions were civil towards me in this my great affliction; and for this I render him humble and hearty thanks, having from other hands pledged my Saviour in gall and vinegar, and drunk up the cup of the scornings of the people to the very bottom. I shall follow every thing in the same order he proceeded in; so far forth

at least as an old slow hand could take them, a heavy heart observe them, and an old decayed memory retain them." He did this with clearness and precision; and reminded the Commons that the evidence, as it was laid before them, was but upon the collection and judgement of one man, whose opinion might differ much from that of the judges themselves, and who having been absent on some of the days, could, of course, in that part of the proceedings, report only what others had reported to him, what came from him being, at best, a report of evidence, and not upon oath. No person had ever given a verdict upon such grounds; and it was for that House, as the great preserver of the laws and liberties of the subject, to consider how far it might trench upon these, in future consequences, if these great boundaries were laid loose and open. He desired that they would take into consideration his calling, his age, his former life, his fall, his long and strict imprisonment. "In my prosperty, (said the venerable sufferer,) I bless God for it, I was never puffed up into vanity, whatever the world may think of me. And in these last full four years' durance, I thank the same God, *gravem fortunam constanter tuli*, I have with decent constancy borne the weight of a pressing fortune: and I hope God will strengthen me unto, and in, the end of it. Mr. Speaker, (he continued,) I am

very aged, considering the turmoils of my life, and I daily find in myself more decays than I make show of; and the period of my life, in the course of nature, cannot be far off. It cannot but be a great grief unto me to stand at these years thus charged before ye. Yet give me leave to say thus much without offence; whatsoever errors or faults I may have committed by the way, in any my proceedings, through human infirmity, (as who is he that hath not offended, and broken some statute-laws too, by ignorance, or misapprehension, or forgetfulness, at some sudden time of action?) yet, if God bless me with so much memory, I will die with these words in my mouth, that I never intended, much less endeavoured, the subversion of the laws of the kingdom; nor the bringing in of Popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion, established by law in this kingdom."

The strength with which he defended himself was felt and acknowledged even by many of the members; but truth and eloquence were as little regarded in those calamitous days as law, justice and humanity, and, without hearing counsel in his behalf, the Commons voted him guilty of high treason. There was yet honour enough among the few Lords who adhered to the parliament through all its courses, to hesitate at passing a bill so flagrantly iniquitous; but the Earl

of Pembroke, one of the meanest wretches that ever brought infamy upon an old and honorable name for the sake of currying favour with a ruling faction, called the Primate rascal and villain, and told the Lords that if they demurred, the citizens would come down and call for justice, as they had done in Strafford's case. Mr. Stroud also, who came up with a message from the Commons to quicken the Upper House, let fall the same threat. And when they voted that all papers relating to the trial should be laid before them, the Commons, to intimidate them, prepared an ordinance to displace them from all command in the army, and by their old agents procured a petition to be got up for the punishment of delinquents, and for bringing the Lords to vote and sit with the Commons, to the end that public business might be more quickly despatched. At length, when only fourteen Lords were present, they voted him guilty of endeavouring to subvert the laws and the protestant religion, and of being an enemy to Parliaments; but left it for the judges to pronounce whether this were treason; and the judges, to their lasting honour, unanimously declared that nothing which was charged against the Archbishop was treason, by any known and established law of the land. In the face of this determination, the Commons persisted in their murderous purpose; the Peers,

who shrunk from a more active participation in the crime, shrunk from their duty also, absenting themselves from the House, and six were found thorough-paced enough to concur in the sentence of condemnation.

Such an issue had been foreseen, and a pardon under the Great Seal had been secretly conveyed to him from the King, which, if his persecutors proceeded with any regard to law, they must needs allow ; and if it failed, as there was too much reason to apprehend, it would at least manifest the King's justice and affection to an old faithful servant, whom he so much esteemed. This pardon he produced, when he was called upon to say why sentence of death should not be past upon him. It was read in both Houses, but as he expected, they, in their usurped and tyrannical authority, affirmed that the King could not pardon a judgement of Parliament. Being thus assured of death, "he neither entertained his sentence with a stoical apathy, nor wailed his fate with weak and womanish lamentations, (to which extremes most men are carried in this case,) but heard it with so even and so smooth a temper, as showed he neither was ashamed to live, nor afraid to die." Up to that point he had composed the history of his troubles and trial, that when justice one day should be rendered to his memory, nothing might be wanting to his

full and complete vindication. That task he now broke off, and prepared for death. He petitioned his iniquitous judges for two favours; the one, that three of his Chaplains might be with him before and at his death; the other, that he might be beheaded, and not undergo the ignominious and barbarous sentence for treason in its full rigour. The Commons, with a brutality worthy of their whole proceedings in this case, denied both; they only allowed that one of the Chaplains whom he named might attend, with two of their own divines, appointing two of the most notorious incendiaries... The Sheriffs attended in person, to know the manner of his execution, (as if even the Sheriffs felt some shame, if not some compunction, at bearing a part in this flagrant inhumanity,) and for an answer they were referred to the warrant, that he should be hanged, drawn and quartered. He petitioned the Lords a second time upon this point, on the grounds of his profession, his rank, and the dignity which he had held, as having sat in their House, and been of the King's Privy Council. The Lords sent it to the Lower House, signifying that for these reasons they had assented to it; and the Commons were then pleased to consent that he should only be beheaded, but this was not conceded by them till after some debate.

The night before his execution, he ate a moderate supper, to refresh his spirits, and then going to bed slept soundly till the hour when his attendants were appointed to await his rising. When he was brought out of the Tower, the spectators "were so divided betwixt bemoaners and insulters, it was hard to decide which of them made up the most part." He proceeded with a cheerful countenance and an unruffled mind, though Hugh Peters, and Sir John Clotworthy, (a man worthy of such an associate,) were all the way assailing him with inhuman interrogatories. These he took calmly, and "though some rude and uncivil people reviled him as he past along with opprobrious language, as loth to let him go to the grave in peace, yet it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in the school of Christ, that when he was reviled he reviled not again, but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously. And as he did not fear the frowns, so neither did he court the applause, of the vulgar herd, and therefore chose to read what he had to speak unto the people, rather than to affect the ostentation either of memory or wit in that dreadful agony."

"Good people," said he, "this is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a text of scripture (Hebrews, xii. 2.)—*Let us run*

with patience the race which is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

"I have been long in my race, and how I have looked to Jesus, the author and finisher of my faith, He best knows. I am now come to the end, and here I find the cross, a death of shame; but the shame must be despised...or no coming to the right hand of God! I am going apace, as you see, toward the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the land of promise; for that was the way through which he led his people...But before they came to it he instituted a passover with them,...a lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sour herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs as well as the lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lord's Passover; I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hand that gathereth them, but look up only unto Him who instituted that, and governs these. For men *can have no more power over me, than what is given them from above.* I am not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmities of flesh and blood plentifully in me, and I have prayed with my Saviour *ut tran-*

siret calix iste, that this cup of Red Wine might pass from me. But if not,... God's will, not man's, be done! And I shall most willingly drink of this cup, as deep as he pleases, and enter into this sea, yea and pass through it, in the way that he shall lead me."

Thus he began his dying address, in that state of calm, but deepest, feeling, when the mind seeks for fancies and types and dim similitudes, and extracts from them consolation and strength. What he said was delivered with a grave composure, so that "he appeared," says Sir Philip Warwick, "to make his own funeral sermon with less passion, than he had in former times made the like for a friend." The hope which he had expressed at his last awful parting with Strafford was now nobly justified; it was not possible for man, in those fearful circumstances, to have given proof of a serener courage, or of a more constant and well-founded faith. Nor did he let pass the opportunity of giving the people such admonition as the time permitted. "I know," said he, "my God whom I serve is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the Three Children from the furnace; and (I humbly thank my Saviour for it!) my resolution is now as their's was then: they would *not worship the image the king had set up*, nor will I the imaginations which the people are

setting up: nor will I forsake the temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves in Dan and Bethel. And as for this people, they are at this day miserably misled, (God of his mercy open their eyes, that they may see the right way!) for the blind lead the blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch."

He then spake of his innocence and the unprecedented manner of his condemnation. "You know," said he, "what the Pharisees said against Christ himself; '*If we let him alone*, all men will believe in him, *et venient Romani*, and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and nation.' See how just the judgement was! They crucified Christ for fear, lest the Romans should come; and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them; God punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray God this clamour of *venient Romani*, of which I have given no cause, help not to bring them in! For the Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are among us." Next he bore testimony to the King his gracious sovereign, as one, whom in his conscience he knew to be a sound and sincere protestant. He dwelt upon the popular clamours for justice, as a practice which might endanger

many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon the heads of the people, and of that great populous city: and he spake of the poor Church of England. "It hath flourished," said he, "and been a shelter to other neighbouring churches, when storms have driven upon them. But, alas! now it is in a storm itself, and God only knows whether, or how, it shall get out. And, which is worse than the storm from without, it is become like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft profaneness and irreligion is entering in; while (as Prosper speaks, in his second book *De Contemptu Vitæ,*) men that introduce profaneness are cloked over with the name *religionis imaginariæ,* of imaginary religion. For we have lost the substance, and dwell too much in opinion; and that Church, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, is fallen into danger by her own.

"The last particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is myself. I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England established by law: in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant religion established in England, and in that I come now to die. What clamours and

slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt." Then he noticed the accusation of high treason. "Besides my answers to the several charges," said he, "I protested my innocency in both houses. It was said, prisoners' protestations at the bar must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my protestation, not at the bar, but my protestation at the hour and instant of my death: in which I hope all men will be such charitable christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore here, in the presence of God and his holy angels, tell it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of law or religion; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine, for my innocency in this, and from all treasons whatsoever. I have been accused, likewise, as an enemy to Parliament: No; I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them too well to be so. But I did mislike the misgovernment of some Parliamentary ways, and I had good reason for it. For *corruptio optimi est pessima;* there is no corruption in the world, so bad as that which is of the best thing within

itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest court over which no other hath jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done. I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not; if he do but conceive that I have, Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him! And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me."

He had prepared a prayer for the occasion, and never was there a more solemn and impressive form of words; it is alike remarkable for the state of mind in which it was composed and uttered; the deep and passionate devotion which it breathes, and the last firm fervent avowal of that religious loyalty, for which he was at that instant about to die a martyr. To abridge it even of a word would be injurious, for if any human composition may be called sacred, this surely deserves to be so qualified. "O eternal God and merciful Father! look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies, look down upon me: but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ, not till Thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ,

that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the King's happiness, and the Church's preservation. And my zeal to this (far from arrogancy be it spoken!) is all the sin, (human frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer: I say, in this particular of treason. But otherwise my sins are many and great: Lord, pardon them all; and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgement upon me! And when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen! And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more than miserable kingdom, (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for myself;) O Lord, I beseech Thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people. But if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours, upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth

and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws, and in their native liberty. And when Thou hast done all this in mere mercy to them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious, dutiful obedience to Thee and thy commandments all their days. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy bosom! Amen. Our Father which art in heaven!"

He pronounced this awful prayer with a distinct and audible voice, and giving the paper to Dr. Stern, who had been permitted to attend him, desired him to communicate it to his other chaplains, that they might see in what manner he left this world; and he prayed God to bless them. Observing also, that a person had been writing his speech, he desired him not to do him wrong, by publishing a false and imperfect copy. His countenance had all this while a ruddier and more animated hue than it was wont to have; so that his enemies, with that malignity which marked all their proceedings towards him, said he had painted it, to fortify his cheeks against discovery of fear. The scaffold was crowded

with people, and when he moved toward the block, he desired he might have room to die, beseeching them to let him have an end of his misery, which he had endured very long; and this he did as calmly "as if he rather had been taking order for a nobleman's funeral, than making way for his own!" Being come near it, he put off his doublet and said, "God's will be done! I am willing to go out of this world; none can be more willing to send me." And seeing through the chinks of the boards that some persons were got under the scaffold about the very place where the block was seated, he called to the officer either to remove them, or stop the crevices, saying it was no part of his desire, that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people. "Never," says Heylyn, "did man put off mortality with a better courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity." Sir J. Clotworthy now molested him with impertinent questions, and after meekly answering him once or twice, Laud turned to the executioner as the gentler person, and giving him money, said, without the slightest change of countenance, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, and I do: and do thy office upon me with mercy." Then he knelt down, and after a short prayer, laid his head upon the block, and gave the signal in these words,

"Lord, receive my soul!" The head was severed at one blow; and instantly the face became pale as ashes, to the confusion of those who affirmed that he had painted it. Yet they had then the stupidity and the baseness to assert, that he had reddened his countenance, and propt up his spirit by some compounded cordial from an apothecary: so hard is the heart, and so impenetrable the understanding, of the factious.

Great multitudes attended this victim of sectarian persecution to the grave; the greater part attracted by curiosity, but many by love and veneration; and not a few, it is believed, by remorse of conscience, for having joined in the wicked and brutish clamour with which he had been hunted down. A baser triumph never was obtained by faction, nor was any triumph ever more basely celebrated. Even after this murder had been committed with all the mockery of law, his memory was assailed in libels of blacker virulence, (if that be possible,) than those by which the deluded populace had been instigated to cry out for his blood; and to this day, those who have inherited the opinions of the Puritans, repeat with unabashed effrontery the imputations against him, as if they had succeeded to their implacable temper,* and their hardihood of slander also. More grateful is it to observe how

* For proof of this, the reader is referred to the *Quarterly Review,* vol. x. pp. 99—101.

little is in the power of malice, even when in the dispensations of Providence it is permitted to do its worst. The enemies of Laud cut off from him, at the utmost, a few short years of infirmity and pain; and this was all they could do! They removed him from the sight of calamities, which would have been to him tenfold more grievous than death; and they afforded him an opportunity of displaying at his trial and on the scaffold, as in a public theatre, a presence of mind, a strength of intellect, a calm and composed temper, an heroic and saintly magnanimity, which he never could have been known to possess, if he had not thus been put to the proof. Had they contented themselves with stripping him of his rank and fortune, and letting him go to the grave a poor and broken-hearted old man, their calumnies might then have proved so effectual, that he would have been more noted now for his infirmities, than for his great and eminent virtues. But they tried him in the burning fiery furnace of affliction, and then his sterling worth was assayed and proved. And the martyrdom of Cranmer is not more inexpiably disgraceful to the Roman Catholic, than that of Laud to the Puritan persecutors.

He was buried according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; a circumstance which afforded a deep, but mournful, consolation to those who revered and loved him.

It seemed to them as if the venerable establishment itself over which he had presided, and for defending which he had died a martyr, were buried with him; for on the same day that six infamous peers past the ordinance of attainder against him, they past an act also, by which the Liturgy was suppressed, and a Directory for public worship set forth in its stead. This miserable tract, whereby the public worship of these kingdoms was thenceforth to be regulated, is, as the title implies, a mere directory, which prescribed only the order of the service, leaving every thing else to the discretion of the minister. He was to begin with prayer, in his own form of words, then to read any portion of scripture which pleased him, so it were not from the Apocrypha, and as much as he chose, and to expound it if he thought good, having regard, however, to time, that enough might be left for other parts of the service; and that this might not be rendered tedious, psalm-singing was to follow, then a prayer before sermon, for which prefatory prayer, five pages of direction were given; the "preaching of the word" followed; then a prayer after sermon, another psalm to be sung, and, lastly, a valediction.

The people at the Communion were orderly to sit about the table. It was declared requisite that on the sabbath there should be a holy ces-

sation all the day from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts; that the diet on that day should be so ordered, as that neither servants should be unnecessarily detained from public worship, nor any other persons hindered from sanctifying the day; that the time between and after service be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons, (and especially by calling their families to an account of what they had heard,) and catechising; holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, psalm-singing, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity and mercy.

Burials were to be without any religious ceremony, such usages having been abused to superstition, being no way beneficial to the dead, and many ways hurtful to the living. Nevertheless, it was judged very convenient that the Christian friends who accompanied the dead to the place appointed for public burial, should apply themselves to meditation and conferences suitable to the occasion; and the minister, if he were present, might put them in remembrance of their duty there, as upon any other opportunity. They did not intend to deny any civil respects or differences, at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the deceased.

Every one who could read was to have a psalm book, and all were to be exhorted to learn reading, that the whole congregation might join in psalmody. But for the present, when many could not read, it was convenient that the minister, or some other fit person, should read the psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof. All holydays were abolished, as having no warrant in the word of God. And no directions were given for introducing either the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Commandments.

Such was the Directory, which the Assembly of Divines prepared, and which a Parliament, usurping to itself the whole power of the state, ordered to be observed; and for this meagre miserable substitution the Liturgy was to be laid aside! The hatred which the Puritans expressed against the Liturgy was as violent as it was unreasonable, for it must be remembered that none of them, as yet, differed in any single point from its doctrines. They called it, by a wretched play upon the word, the *Lethargy* of worship. To prescribe a form, they said, was stopping the course of God's Spirit, and muzzling the mouth of prayer. They reviled it as a compilation made by men who were "belching the sour crudities of yesterday's popery;" and they declared that it had brought the land generally to atheism.

It soon indeed became apparent, that these blind leaders of the blind had themselves prepared the way for every species of impiety and extravagance. They had raised a storm whereby the peace and happiness of three kingdoms were destroyed, because they would not kneel at the communion, tolerate the surplice, use the finest liturgy that ever was composed, nor bow at the name of Jesus! They had raised the storm, and by them it was kept up; for the King had now yielded every political point in dispute, and nothing but the intolerance of the Puritans prevented an accommodation. And here it is observable, that, as this factious scrupulosity brought on a civil war, which real grievances alone would not have provoked, and thus preserved the nation from that arbitrary government, under which it might probably have settled; so their intolerant bigotry averted a settlement, which, by stripping the King of his legitimate power, would, in its consequences, have been hardly less injurious: and thus, through a severe process of evil, good was ultimately educed from their gross inconsistencies, their preposterous errors, and their manifold and enormous crimes.

They had succeeded in subverting that goodly fabric of Church government which had been established at the Reformation. It was now to

be seen how their system would answer in its stead, and how that system would be observed when they themselves had destroyed the principle of obedience. The Assembly set forth a confession of faith, wherein the Calvinistic opinions were asserted in all their rigour; and this the parliament approved. They drew up also a scheme of Presbyterian government, which was approved and established in Scotland, but for which they could not obtain the sanction of the English Parliament. London, with its suburbs, however, was organized upon the presbyterian plan; and it is to be wished that parts of this discipline, particularly its parochial polity, had been carried into effect, and retained at the Restoration, as being well compatible with an Episcopal Church, and tending greatly to its efficiency and support. But even in the Assembly, convened as it had been under their own direction, the Presbyterians were opposed by two parties, differing widely from each other, but uniting now against a sect as intolerant, when it had obtained power, as it had heretofore been impatient of conformity. The Erastians were the one, who, regarding the Church as a part of the state, and properly subservient to it, were for allowing no coercive power to the Clergy. The most learned of the members held these opinions, and they were also well supported in the House of Com-

mons. The Independents were not so numerous in the Assembly, and the ablest of their representatives was now becoming obnoxious for embracing and defending the Arminian doctrine; but they were strong in the principle of toleration, which they professed though they did not always practise; they were acquiring an ascendency in the state, and the sword was in their hands.

These parties had each a clear and intelligible principle. The Erastians might prefer one form of ecclesiastical government to another, but could consistently and conscientiously conform to any, from which they did not differ in points of doctrine. The scheme of the Independents was methodical, practical and efficient, though liable to more objections than the Presbyterian platform, as that is far inferior to the Episcopal form, even if the question were considered prospectively alone, in its mere political bearings. But besides these there were others, "higher flown and more seraphical;" a rabble of sectaries started up, so many and so various, that names for half of them have not been found in the nomenclature of heresy. "Strange monsters," the Presbyterians called them, "having their heads of Enthusiasm, their bodies of Antinomianism, their thighs of Familism, their legs and feet of Anabaptism, their hands of Arminianism, and Libertinism

is the great vein running through the whole." Thus they who had broken down the fences complained, when they saw what a herd of unclean beasts followed them into the vineyard. "We have the plague of Egypt upon us," said they, "frogs out of the bottomless pit covering our land, coming into our houses, bed-chambers, beds, churches: a man can hardly come into any place but some croaking frog or other will be coming up upon him." And they who had plunged these kingdoms into civil war, rather than submit to a hierarchy which required from its ministers nothing more than the due observance of its decent forms, cried out against toleration, now that they had set up an establishment of their own, as "the grand design of the Devil, the most transcendent, catholic and fundamental of all evils, the Abaddon, the Apollyon, the abomination of desolation and astonishment."

For awhile the rod was in their hands, and they made its iron weight be felt. These men, who had pleaded conscience about a gesture and a garment, prohibited the use of the Common Prayer, not merely in Churches, Chapels, and places of public worship, but in any private place or family as well, under penalty of five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third a year's imprisonment. And whoever should preach, write or print any thing in dero-

gation of the Directory, was to forfeit, for the use of the poor, a sum not less than five pounds, nor exceeding fifty. They voted in the Assembly that the power of the keys was in the officers of the Church, whereby they could retain or remit sins, shut the kingdom of Heaven and open it, and this, with the power of excommunication, they voted to be theirs by divine right. But though the Parliament assented to this claim of power, they frustrated its purport by providing an appeal to itself, and reserving to the magistrate the cognizance of all capital offences. The Assembly ventured to petition against this on the ground of the divine right, and in better reliance upon the Scotch, who were disposed with their whole force to assist them in their preposterous pretensions. They were alarmed when the committee of the House of Commons, to which their petition was referred, reported that they were guilty of a premunire; and they found afterwards, that in relying upon the Scotch, they leant upon a broken reed.

But when the King, after the total wreck of his cause, had taken shelter with the Scotch army, the Presbyterians would gladly have obtained the sanction of his authority, which would have enabled them to trample upon the Independents, and they would have set up again the throne which they had subverted, if they could have set

up their own Right Divine with it. The terms which they proposed indicated the implacableness of their political hatred, and the extent of their religious intolerance. They excepted from a general pardon above threescore persons by name, besides whole classes of men, in terms so general that scarcely any one, who had served the King, could feel himself secure. They required severer measures against the Romanists, and demanded that an act should be past for educating the children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant religion. They insisted upon the utter abolishment of episcopacy, and that the King should take the Covenant himself, and impose it upon all in the three kingdoms. This most unfortunate and most calumniated Prince is charged with insincerity; because he hesitated and wavered in circumstances where he had only a choice of evils. But though by nature infirm of purpose, few men have ever been more nobly and religiously fixed in principle: not only at this time, but when the Scotch had sold him to his enemies, he might, to all human appearance, have preserved himself, if he would have sacrificed the Church. They who accuse Charles of seeking to bring back the Romish superstition, and of systematic duplicity, perceive not how, in recording this acknowledged fact, they thoroughly disprove their own slanderous accusation. Prest

as he was by foes who held him in captivity, and beset by weak or treacherous friends, he continued firm upon this great point. The Queen, who had always been an unfortunate adviser, and too often an evil one, urged him to give up the Church; for this would have been as much a subject of triumph to the Romanists as to the Sectarians. But Charles was not to be shaken; he rested upon his coronation oath, and upon his own deliberate and well grounded conviction that episcopacy was the form of Church government which had been handed down to us from the apostles. To those who prest him with arguments, he answered with sound learning, sound judgement, and the strength of truth; and to his ill-advising friends he replied that his conscience was dearer to him than his crown. To this determination he adhered in the extremity of his fortune.

The Puritans, unable to obtain the King's consent, proceeded in this, as they had done in so many other acts of iniquity, upon their own usurped authority. They had already abolished episcopal jurisdiction, they now abolished the rank and order, and confiscated all their rights and possessions. The spoils they shared among themselves and their adherents, by lavish grants, or such sales as were little more than nominal. Sir Arthur Hazlerigg secured so large a portion

that he was called the Bishop of Durham. Dr. Cornelius Burges, also, one of the most active of the Puritan divines in kindling the rebellion, became a large purchaser, though he had formerly maintained that it was utterly unlawful to convert such endowments to any private person's profit. Loudly, indeed, as the puritanical clergy had declaimed against the wealth and power of the Bishops, they had shown themselves far from indifferent to either when they had brought them within their reach. "Setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms," they took all they could get, not scrupling to hold at the same time, masterships in the University, lectureships in the city, and one, two, or more, of the best livings, from which the lawful incumbents had been turned out with their families to starve, if they could not obtain their fifths from these hard-hearted intruders. Nor had the Bishops ever claimed half the power in spiritual or temporal affairs, which these men exercised. The temper of the episcopal Church had become wisely tolerant. It required conformity from its ministers, but carried on no war against the consciences of men; the clamour which had been raised with most effect against the hierarchy, was for not exerting the rigour of the law against the Papists. The Puritans meddled with every thing. They abolished may-

poles, and they prohibited servants and children from walking in the fields on the Sabbath day. They appointed the second Tuesday in every month, for reasonable recreation, all holidays having been suppressed; and they past an ordinance by which eight heresies were made punishable with death upon the first offence, unless the offender abjured his errors, and irremissibly if he relapsed. Sixteen other opinions were to be punished with imprisonment, till the offender should find sureties that he would maintain them no more. Among these were the belief in purgatory, the opinion that God might be worshipped in pictures or images, free will, universal restitution, and the sleep of the soul. Their laws also for the suppression of immorality were written in blood.

Such edicts were of no avail; the men who enacted them had destroyed the principle and habit of obedience. In the course of unerring retribution, the prime movers of the rebellion were thrust from their abused station by men more audacious and more consistent in guilt. After the murder of the King, change followed change, but no change brought stability to the state or repose to the nation, not even when the supreme and absolute authority was usurped by a man, who, of all others, was the most worthy to have exercised it, had it lawfully devolved upon

him. Cromwell relieved the country from Presbyterian intolerance; and he curbed those fanatics who were for proclaiming King Jesus, that, as his saints, they might divide the land amongst themselves. But it required all his strength to do this, and to keep down the spirit of political and religious fanaticism, when his own mind by its constitutional strength had shaken off both diseases. He then saw and understood the beauty, and the utility, and the necessity of those establishments, civil and ecclesiastical, over the ruins of which he had made his way to power; and gladly would he have restored the monarchy and the episcopal church. But he was deterred from the only practicable course less by the danger of the attempt, than by the guilty part which he had borne in the king's fate; and at the time when Europe regarded him with terror and admiration as the ablest and most powerful potentate of the age, he was paying the bitter penalty of successful ambition, consumed by cares and anxieties and secret fears, and only preserved from all the horrors of remorse by the spiritual drams which were administered to him as long as he had life.

Eighteen months of anarchy after Cromwell's death made the nation impatient of its oppressors, and indignant at its long sufferings. Even the men who had been most instrumental in

bringing on its misery and degradation were brought to their senses. The national wish was felt and obeyed at a time when no one dared utter it; and Charles II. was invited unconditionally from exile to his paternal throne, by a people who desired nothing more than the restoration of those institutions under which England had been prosperous and happy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHARLES II.—JAMES II.—THE REVOLUTION.

When Charles I. was in the hands of his enemies, and had reason to apprehend that he should never be delivered from them, he addressed a paper of advice to his son, and thus exhorted him concerning that Church which had deserved, and requited with such true loyalty, his sincere and dutiful attachment: "If you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me, I do require and entreat you, as your Father and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from, the true Religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and, after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world, not only in the community as Christian, but also in the special notion as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the mean-

ness of fantastic anarchy.... Not but that, the draught being excellent as to the main, both for doctrine and government in the Church of England, some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some correcting and polishing; which might have easily have been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some men's precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole... The scandal of the late troubles, which some may object and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in England, is easily answered to them or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner or an active prosecutor of this late war against the Church, the laws and me, either was, or is a true lover, embracer or practiser of the Protestant Religion established in England, which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples."

Then after some political advice in a strain of wise and magnanimous piety, the captive king concluded in these affecting words, "In sum, what good I intended, do you perform when God shall give you power. Much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it... Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your subjects, by their miseries, will have learnt, that Religion to their

God and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity. I pray God bless you and establish your kingdom in righteousness, your soul in true religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people. And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever, with my name, live in you, as of your father that loves you, and once a King of three flourishing kingdoms, whom God thought fit to honour not only with the sceptre and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them, while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the privilege of Parliament, the liberties of my People, and my own Conscience, which, thank God, is dearer to me than a thousand kingdoms. I know God can, I hope He yet will, restore me to my rights. I cannot despair either of His mercy, or of my people's love and pity. At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better kingdom which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine. Farewell, till we meet, if not on earth, yet in heaven."

The late King had also left in the care of one of his chaplains, afterwards Archbishop Sheldon, a written vow, that if it should please God to re-

establish him on his throne, he would wholly give back to the Church all those impropriations which were held by the crown; and what crown lands soever had been taken from any see, collegiate church, or other religious foundation, he would hold hereafter from the church under such reasonable fines and rents as should be set by conscientious persons appointed to that trust.

Such had been the intentions of the murdered King concerning the Church; and the feelings of the nation were as unequivocally understood: they desired the re-establishment of that Church for which Cranmer had died at the stake and Laud on the scaffold: and this indeed was known to be the natural and sure consequence of Charles's restoration. But it was impossible to remedy the evil which twenty years of religious anarchy had produced. A fair promise, however, was held forth in the King's Declaration from Breda, that the most conciliatory measures should be pursued. It was there said, "because the passions and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of

opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence."

As Charles granted, in its full extent, the indemnity which was offered in this Declaration, so it may be affirmed that he was sincere in promising liberty of conscience. The promise was not kept; for Parliament did not think proper to prepare such an Act, and all parties were in a temper the most unfavourable for the design, the King being, perhaps, the only person who was sincerely disposed to it. This disposition did not proceed in him wholly from looseness of opinion, nor from that easiness of temper which though akin to virtue is so easily made subservient to vice. It arose from a just and honourable sentiment of shame, that laws so severe as those against the Roman Catholics should continue to exist, after the political necessity for them had ceased. If any favourable inclination toward their system of belief had at that time begun to influence him, it did not appear in his conduct; nor does it seem to have been any thing more than what he naturally felt as one whose mother, most unfortunately for these kingdoms, was a Papist. The liberty of conscience which he desired for them, he would have allowed to all; but by a sin-

gular infelicity of circumstances there never was a time when such tremendous objections existed to this desirable toleration. The Puritans, who sought it for themselves, would not allow it to the Catholics; and, indeed, it was evident to all reasonable men that each of these parties required it only as a step to something more. There had arisen a general and well-founded apprehension that the Catholics were becoming dangerous to the state. It was believed that the late troubles had been insidiously fomented by Romish agents with a view of promoting the Romish cause: it was certain that they had profited by them, and made more converts than in any former generation; among these were many persons of great note and influence, and more than had yet avowed themselves were suspected. It had been reported during the King's exile, that he and his brothers had changed their religion; the motives for raising the report were palpable; but there was too much ground for apprehending that such a perversion was far from improbable, and with a Catholic King, or a Catholic Heir Presumptive, it was certain that there could be no safety for the Protestant Church.

The Catholics, however, soon, by their own imprudence, relieved Charles from any perplexity on their score. They could not agree among themselves; they reviled the Marian martyrs in

a strain which evinced how willingly they would have commenced another such persecution had the power been in their hands; and they provoked the ministry to remember that they had slighted the King in his exile, and had treated with Cromwell for taking an oath of submission to his government as the price of that indulgence, which he, in his true spirit of toleration, was willing to have granted. The point was still to be settled with the Puritans, and with them it appeared that before the question of toleration was considered, that of power was to be decided. The Presbyterians, who were the most numerous and best organized party, made a skilful attempt, when they declared for the restoration of the monarchy, to establish that pattern in the mount, for the sake of which they had commenced the work of its destruction. They had a majority in the House of Commons, and formed a Committee of Religion before the King's return, meaning to present for his sanction a plan of Church Government conformable to their principles; but notwithstanding all the precautions which they had taken to manage the elections, many members faithful to the legitimate establishment were returned, who frustrated their project by impeding it till the first adjournment of the House, when the King told them that, as they had offered him no advice towards composing the dif-

ferences in religion, he would try what he could do in it himself.

The national feeling had already been manifested. At the moment when the cannon announced the King's peaceful return to the palace of his fathers, some of the sequestered Bishops, and other clergy, performed a service of thanksgiving, in Henry the Seventh's chapel, with feelings such as no other service of joy can ever have excited. In most parts of the country, where the minister was well disposed, a repeal of the laws against the Liturgy was not waited for, so certain was it held, by every sound old English heart, that the constitution of their fathers, in church as well as in state, was now to be restored. The Presbyterians felt this; but when they saw how impossible it was to obtain a real triumph, they sought for such a compromise as might be made to bear the semblance of one. Their hope now was, that the Church would give up some of its ceremonies, and alter its Liturgy to their liking. But in aiming at this their leaders proceeded with a bad faith, which, when it was detected, abated both the hope and the wish of conciliating them.

After a conference between some of the London ministers, who were the heads of the Presbyterian party, and an equal number of the loyal and long sequestered Clergy, the King published

a declaration, stating that he had commanded the Clergy on both sides to meet, and agree, if possible, upon an Act of Uniformity, which might be confirmed in Parliament. In the meantime, he signified his pleasure that both should be at liberty, the one to use the Liturgy, the surplice, and the sign of the cross; the other, to follow their own custom. The draught of this declaration was shown to the London ministers, before it was promulgated; it then contained a clause in which the King declared his own constant practice of the Common Prayer, and said, he should take it well from those who used it in their Churches, that the people might be again acquainted with the piety, gravity, and devotion of it, and that their living in good neighbourhood might thus be facilitated. After some days' consideration, some of the ministers, and Calamy among them, who was one of the most active and influential of that party, came, deputed by the rest, to the Chancellor, Lord Clarendon, and requested that this clause might be omitted, saying they desired it for the King's own end, and that they might the better show their obedience and resolution to serve him. They would first reconcile the people, they said, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form. They would inform them that it contained much piety and devotion, and might law-

fully be used; they would then begin to use it themselves, and by degrees accustom the people to it. And this would have a better effect than if the clause were published; for they should then be thought in their persuasions, to act not from conscience and duty, but for the sake of complying with the King's wish, and meriting his favour; and they feared other ill consequences from the waywardness of the common people, who required management, and were not to be brought round at once.

Clarendon believed them, and in their presence repeated to the King what they had represented. They again protested that their sole object was to promote the King's end; Charles also gave them credit for sincerity, and the clause was left out. The people were generally satisfied with the declaration; but it was soon perceived that the puritanical Clergy were not, and that their emissaries were employed in exciting discontent. Their letters were intercepted; and among many of a like tendency was one from Calamy himself, to a leading minister in Somersetshire, entreating that he and his friends would persist in the use of the Directory, and by no means admit the Common Prayer in their Churches; for he made no question but that they should prevail further with the King than he had consented to in that declaration. This proof of knavery in the leaders,

was followed by an instance of sufficient effrontery to defeat its own purpose, the days of mob petitioning being over. A petition was presented in the name of the London Ministers, and many others of the same opinion, thanking the King for his Declaration, and saying they received it as an earnest of his future goodness, in granting all those other concessions which were absolutely necessary for the liberty of their consciences; and they prayed that the wearing the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might be absolutely abolished, as being scandalous to all men of tender consciences. The names of those persons who had attended at the conference, and requested the King to withdraw the clause, were not affixed to the petition; but it came signed by those who had deputed them; and after these proofs of effrontery and bad faith it was plain that nothing could be effected with such persons by conciliatory means.

Conciliation, however, was still tried; and after the vacant sees had been filled up, and the act repealed which excluded the Bishops from Parliament, the Bishops were required to make such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, as they thought would make it more acceptable to the "Dissenting brethren," and such additions as the temper of the present times, and the past calamities required. Neither the good, nor the

evil, which were predicted from this measure, ensued. The alterations did not conciliate a party whom nothing could have conciliated; nor did they afford a plea for representing that the Church had in any respect changed its tenets or its ceremonies, or admitted that they stood in need of reform. Long conferences took place between the Bishops, and the most eminent of the Presbyterian Clergy, of whom Baxter, Reynolds, and Calamy, were the most conspicuous. The former offered, on the part of his brethren, a Liturgy which they had authorized him to compile; and presented their exceptions to that of the Church: it is even pitiful to see how captious and utterly frivolous are the greater part, the very few to which any weight might have been assigned, lost all their force from being mingled with such empty cavillings. And the conference ended in showing how hopeless it was that any thing like union could be effected.

It is obvious that no possible comprehension, consistent with the existence of the Establishment, could have taken in any other class of Nonconformists than the Presbyterians. The Independents, and a host of other Sectaries in their endless varieties, must necessarily have been excluded. The same difficulty was found in the way of a general toleration; for there were few of these sects who did not hold opinions which,

in the judgement of the others, were intolerable; and there were some whose madness it was impossible to tolerate. The Levellers, and the Fifth Monarchy men, had been formidable enough to disquiet Cromwell; and they were fanatical enough for any attempt, however desperate or atrocious. A band of these madmen sallied from their meeting-house, proclaimed King Jesus in the streets of London, killed some twenty men, and lost as many themselves, before they could be secured. This explosion, the discovery of some treasons, and the report of more, operated grievously against the whole bodies of Dissenters. It was not sufficiently considered how widely the great majority of them differed in opinion from these rabid enthusiasts, because it was known that the principle of discontent was common to them all, and that discontent passes easily into disaffection. The general feeling therefore was against any compromise with men, to whom the nation imputed all its long calamities; and Charles did not think himself bound, by his declaration from Breda, to any thing more upon the subject of religion, than to pass such an act as the Parliament might think proper to offer. A new Parliament had been called, and under circumstances in which the public feeling could be fairly represented. The Liturgy as

approved by the Convocation, and confirmed by the King under the Great Seal, was presented to it, and received; and an Act of Uniformity past, with some clauses which the wisest statesmen and truest friends of the Church disapproved, but were unable to prevent. One of these excluded all persons from the ministry, who had not received episcopal ordination;...all therefore who had received presbyterian orders were to quit their benefices, or submit to be re-ordained. Another required a subscription from every man about to receive any preferment in the Universities or the Church, declaring his assent and consent to every thing in the Book of Common Prayer,... words which gave occasion to cavils of the same kind as had been raised against the *et cetera* oath. But the touchstone was a clause, which the Commons introduced, for another qualifying subscription, wherein the subscriber declared it was not lawful upon any pretence to take arms against the King; abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person; and renounced the covenant as imposing no obligation upon him or any others, and unlawful in itself. Any clergyman who should not fully conform to this act by St. Bartholomew's day, which was about three months after it was published, was, *ipso*

facto, to be deprived of his cure; and the act was so worded as not to leave it in the King's power to dispense with its observance.

It was rigorously enforced, and about two thousand ministers were deprived. The measure was complained of, as an act of enormous cruelty and persecution; and the circumstance of its being fixed for St. Bartholomew's day gave the complainants occasion to compare it with the atrocious deed committed upon that day against the Huguenots in France. They were careful not to remember that the same day, and for the same reason, (because the tithes were commonly due at Michaelmas,) had been appointed for the former ejectment, when four times as many of the loyal clergy were deprived for fidelity to their sovereign. No small proportion of the present sufferers had obtained their preferment by means of that tyrannical deprivation: they did but now drink of the cup which they had administered to others. Not a few had been deeply implicated in the guilt of the rebellion. But this ill consequence was sure to follow, from a measure not otherwise impolitic, and fully justified by the circumstances of the times, that while from the pride of consistency, and from conscientious scruples, some men of genuine piety and exemplary worth were expelled from a Church, in the service of which they were

worthy to have held a distinguished rank; others retained their benefices, who would have been a reproach to any Church, and to whom it was matter of indifference what they subscribed, and whether they took the covenant or renounced it. Reynolds was among the better and wiser minds who conformed; he accepted the see of Norwich. That of Hereford was refused by Baxter, and that of Lichfield by Calamy: how strongly the latter was attached to his party is proved, by the dishonourable manner in which he attempted to promote its cause; the stronger intellect and more ingenuous temper of the former were clouded by old prejudices, petty scruples, and the perpetual sense of bodily infirmities, which made his protracted life little better than one long disease.

The Nonconformists having so recently been masters could not easily be convinced they were a very small and a very odious minority. They expected that the display of their numbers would make the government feel it necessary to conciliate them by some concessions, and that there would be a difficulty in supplying the pulpits from which they were excluded. Being disappointed in both expectations they deliberated whether it was not expedient for them to follow the example of their predecessors, and shaking the dust of England from their feet, migrate into

Holland, or into the American colonies, where their brethren were established, and the first difficulties of colonization had been overcome. If the Government had been conducted upon any settled and steady system of sound policy, it would have encouraged them in this intention, and afforded them every possible facility and aid for their voluntary removal. But on the part of the Court there was neither wisdom nor sincerity. Lord Clarendon, the wisest, because the most upright of all statesmen, was counteracted in his views by dark intrigues, and selfish interests. And a course of apparent inconsistency was pursued, the secret object of which was by sometimes harassing the Nonconformists, and sometimes raising their hopes, to keep up their state of excitement, and hold them together as a party, till, through their means, a toleration, which should include the Papists, might be brought about, and a way prepared for the re-establishment of Popery in the plenitude of its power, its intolerance, and its abominations.

The King, whether at that time he understood or not the end which was proposed, was prevailed upon therefore to set forth a Declaration, wherein his own disapproval of any severities on the score of religion was expressed, and a hope held out that the laws upon that matter would be amended to the satisfaction of all his subjects.

This gave new spirits to the Nonconformists, as it was designed to do. But however much they might desire indulgence for themselves, they could not yet be brought to think it lawful or tolerable that any should be granted to the Papists; and the general feeling of the country was equally against both; if there was any difference, it was that the Catholics were regarded with the more fear, the Puritans with the more abhorrence. There was undoubted danger from both: that from the Papists was the greatest, but it was the most remote. They had not only the fixed design, but the steady hope and prospect of setting up again the Papal authority in England; a scheme, which the conversion of the Duke of York, and the indifference, if not the inclinations of the King, appeared to render feasible; which the multiplicity of schisms, induced by the rebellion, favoured; and in the pursuit of which they could rely upon the secret aid of all Catholic powers, and the open assistance of France, if ever it should be required. The danger from the Puritans was not of any far-sighted and long concerted policy; but of some execrable plot, or insane insurrection, which a few desperate fanatics might be frantic enough to plan and execute without the knowledge of their fellow sectaries, but in reliance upon the principle of disaffection, which was common to them all. Go-

vernment was fully aware that such plots were carrying on, and it was deemed a necessary measure of precaution to exact an oath from the sequestered ministers, declaring that it was not lawful, on any pretence, to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him; and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. They who refused to make this declaration were not to come within five miles of any city or borough, or of the Church which they had been accustomed to serve.

The five mile act, as it is called, was impolitic, because it brought into discussion the question of resistance,...a question, which, it has been well said, subjects ought never to remember, and rulers never to forget; and it was injurious, because it required a declaration concerning Church government, which it was quite certain that no Dissenter could conscientiously take. But this objectionable clause afforded a just and welcome reason for refusing the oath, to those who might otherwise have thought it expedient to swallow the political part and digest it as they could. The more severe the measure, the better it accorded with the public feeling; and the occurrences of those times were such as to justify as well as quicken the apprehensions and the jealousy of the Government. For the remains of the re-

publican party were seeking to take advantage of the Dutch war, and once more throw the kingdom into confusion and anarchy, that they might again try the experiment of their beloved commonwealth. Algernon Sidney was soliciting for this purpose money from France, and men from Holland; consultations had been held with Ludlow concerning the enterprise; and there were enough of Cromwell's officers ready to set their lives upon the hazard. A conspiracy was detected, for which eight persons were convicted. They had all been officers and soldiers in the rebellion, all were Levellers, and they confessed, at their execution, that there was an intention of setting London on fire, on the second of September, that being found by Lilly's almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfal of monarchy. The men were executed in April; their confession was published in the gazette at the time; and on the day which they had specified the fire of London broke out. If this were mere coincidence, it is surely the most remarkable in history.

The people nevertheless were persuaded that London had been burnt by the Papists, and the public authorities partook or assented to their credulity. The odium which this senseless calumny raised, was kept up by men of great talents and

consummate profligacy, who, from having been the wickedest ministers, became the wickedest opposition that ever dishonoured this kingdom. The infamous affair of the Popish plot carried it to its height, but the subsequent re-action had well nigh brought about the triumph of the Romish cause. Never were the civil and religious liberties of England in greater danger than when an opposition which had so lately directed the multitude at its will, and whose object it had been, by means of popular delusion, in every possible way to annoy the King, and embarrass the Government, (not without a hope of overthrowing both,) found themselves at once as devoid of support and strength, as they were of character and principle, and saw the whole authority of the state delivered over as it were by acclamation into the King's hands. Every thing then seemed to conspire in favour of the Romanists. And when Charles terminated his dissolute life and disgraceful reign in the communion of the Romish Church, and his brother who was not only an avowed but a zealous Papist succeeded to the throne, they considered their ascendency to be secure.

If Charles ever seriously intended to prepare the way for that ascendency, the manner in which he disposed of the church preferment tended effectually to counteract his intentions. The

clergy whom he promoted were, with few exceptions, men of the greatest ability and worth, armed at all points for controversy, munificent in bounty, powerful in preaching, exemplary in their private lives, and in the whole course of their public conduct conscientious and consistent. While they taught and believed that Government is of divine right, and that passive obedience is the religious duty of the subject, they neither regarded the Sovereign as despotic, nor the people as slaves, knowing that their obedience was due to the laws of the land, and not to the mere will and pleasure of an arbitrary ruler. They could not be insensible to their danger from a Popish successor; and yet when the Bill of Exclusion was brought forward, and their influence as a body might have turned the scale, they adhered to the principle of constitutional loyalty, and the Bishops, without one exception, voted against it. Towards the Papists and the Nonconformists, or Dissenters, as they now began to be called, their conduct was firm and dignified; they regarded the points of difference between them as essential, and therefore admitting of no compromise.

The Dissenters had always been supported by some unprincipled statesmen, who despised them while they used them as their instruments. Shaftesbury and Buckingham did then as Leicester had done in Elizabeth's days. By the en-

couragement which they thus received, by just so much persecution as rouses a natural and generous spirit of resistance, and by the zeal and activity which such circumstances excite, they became a recognised, and not an inconsiderable, party in the State, and that which had been an acute was converted into a chronic disease. The better part of their character appeared when it was their turn to suffer; in fact, both among ministers and people none but the better members were left, who, for the sake of what they believed to be their duty, were willing to incur the danger of hopeless imprisonment. The oppression to which they had been subjected was not that which driveth wise men mad; it was such as sobered those who had run wild in the inebriety of success. The crazier sects disappeared; and lay preaching, from which so many evils had arisen, was no longer heard of, except among the Quakers, who suffered more from the laws than all the other sects collectively, and who, laying aside their more outrageous follies, were now settling under a discipline, which rendered them from the most extravagant the most orderly of men.

The scheme of making the Dissenters instrumental to the re-establishment of Popery was well concerted; and, as far as concerned them, it was successful. The only reason for which

they had left the Church of England was because it did not, in their opinion, depart sufficiently from the Church of Rome; and among the offences of which they had accused Laud and Charles I., one was, that the Primate had favoured certain Priests who were in prison, and that the King had not ordered them to execution. The danger from Popery had then been imaginary, it was now real and imminent: they, however, stood aloof from the struggle, and left the clergy to maintain the Protestant cause from the pulpit and the press. The clergy were equal to this duty. How earnestly James was bent upon his purpose was plain from the constraint which he put upon his own feelings when he condescended to court the Dissenters, and what the consequences of his success would be, none, whose judgement was not biassed by self-interest, could possibly doubt. Even the plan of St. Paul's church is said to have been altered by James's interference, and the side oratories added, in despite of Sir Christopher Wren's remonstrances, for the secret purpose of rendering it more convenient as a Roman Catholic place of worship. The Romanists proceeded in the full assurance of success; and while addresses for a general indulgence were obtained from some of the Nonconformists, from some of the old dissenting officers and soldiers, and from a few ser-

vile corporations and companies, (even the Cooks presented one!) what indulgence was to be expected under a Catholic government was shown by the persecution of the Protestants in France. When the French clergy thanked Louis XIV. for having rooted out heresy from his dominions in that persecution, (which, regarded in all its circumstances, is the most atrocious in European history,) they added, that one further glory was reserved for him, that of lending his aid to reduce England into the pale of the Catholic Church.

The better to secure his end, James promoted in the Church such persons as he thought would be most pliable; the few who were found so had been equally compliant when the Puritans were in power. He published directions to the Archbishops to prohibit the clergy from preaching on controversial points. To have obeyed that prohibition when the principles of the establishment were incessantly attacked, would have been consenting to its overthrow; and they did their duty in repelling those attacks, and exposing the frauds and corruptions of the Romish Church. The King then had recourse to another method. which was likely to be more effectual. He appointed a Commission for inquiring into, and punishing ecclesiastical offences; the Commissioners being empowered to summon persons of any rank in the Church, and punish them by suspension,

privation, and excommunication, "notwithstanding any laws or statutes of the realm." The Primate, and the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, were named members of this court, and there were four Lay Commissioners, of whom Jefferies was one.

Of the two bishops, one was timid, the other time-serving, and had been promoted for that qualification. But Sancroft, the Primate, was a man of sterling worth, and seventy years had not abated the vigour of his understanding, nor the strength of his heart. Having satisfied himself that the Commission was not legal, and that even if it were otherwise, he could not legally be compelled to act in it, he declined the appointment upon the plea of his infirmities. The new Bishop of Chester was nominated in his stead, and Sancroft was in such expectation of being cited before this tribunal for declining to bear a part in it, that he prepared a protest against its jurisdiction. About this time he received a letter from the Princess of Orange, expressive of her satisfaction at hearing that the English Clergy were as firm to their Religion as they had always been to their King, and her confidence that God would still preserve the Church which he had provided with such able men. He told her in his reply that she had put new life into a dying old man, ready to sink under the double burthen

of age and sorrow; and that such consolation never could have come more seasonably. "It hath seemed good to the infinite wisdom," said he, "to exercise this poor Church with trials of all sorts, and of all degrees; but the greatest calamity that ever befell us was, that it pleased God to permit wicked and ungodly men, after they had barbarously murdered the father, to drive out the sons from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, as if they had said to them, Go and serve other gods. The dreadful effects whereof we still feel every moment, but must not, nay, we cannot, particularly express. And though all this (were it yet much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family, in the legal succession of it, yet it imbitters the very comforts that are left us, it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God, who, in so dark and dismal a night, hath caused some dawn of light to break forth upon us from the eastern shore, in the constancy and good affection of your Royal Highness and the excellent Prince toward us; for if this should fail us too, which the God of heaven and earth forbid, our hearts must surely break."

The measures of the Court were such at that time as to justify the darkest forebodings. A Papist was appointed Dean of Christ Church,

and the King dispensed with his taking the oaths. A noble stand against a similar nomination was made by the Fellows of Magdalen College, and though the new Court of Commission exerted its power, and expelled them, the resistance which had there been made produced a strong effect upon the nation. At Cambridge also the King was opposed with equal firmness, and when he sent his mandamus requiring them to receive one of his priests, a Benedictine, as Master of Arts, they unanimously refused to obey. One aggression followed another; the laws had plied before the King; and if the Clergy had yielded also, the civil and religious liberties of England would have been laid at his feet. But he found in them a steady and principled resistance, and when he issued an Order in Council requiring the Clergy to read in all their pulpits a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, the point was brought to an issue, and those liberties depended upon the event.

In this declaration James suspended all penal laws on matters of religion, abolished all tests, and declared all his subjects equally capable of employments in his service. If this assumption of authority were admitted, the constitution in Church and State would receive its death-blow; the Government would be made arbitrary, and the establishment papal. Sancroft consulted with

the most eminent clergy who were within reach, and sent a circular letter to others, requesting them to come to London with all convenient speed, and not let it be known that they were thus summoned. Among the more distinguished of an inferior rank who assembled were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Sherlock. They began with prayer, and they concluded their deliberations by drawing up a petition, beseeching that the King would not insist upon their distributing and reading his Declaration. Their great averseness to it, they said, proceeded neither from any want of duty or obedience to him, the Church of England being both in her principle and constant practice unquestionably loyal; nor from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as might be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation; but chiefly because that Declaration was founded upon such a dispensing power as had often been declared illegal, and particularly at the beginning of his reign; and was of so great moment to the whole nation, both in Church and State, that they could not in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it as the distribution of it, and the solemn publication, even in God's house, and the time of divine service, must amount to in

common and reasonable construction. The petition was signed by the Primate, by Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol.

Sancroft was in an ill state of health, and, moreover, had been forbidden to appear at court for the displeasure which he had previously given by his firmness. The other six immediately crost the water to present it at Whitehall. The King had been flattered into a persuasion that they came to represent to him that orders of this kind were usually addressed to their chancellors, not to themselves, meaning thus to shift off the responsibility, and save their credit by a subterfuge, while they yielded the point. Lloyd, however, requested that the President of the Council would peruse the petition, and inform the King of its purport. The President refused to do this, but obtained their immediate admittance into the royal closet, where they delivered it upon their knees. The King took it graciously, and upon glancing at the writing, said, it is my Lord of Canterbury's own hand. But his countenance darkened as he read, and folding up the paper, he said to them, "this is a great surprise to me! These are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion."

They answered that they had adventured their lives for his Majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him. I tell you, he repeated, this is a standard of rebellion. I never saw such an address. Trelawny knelt a second time, and exclaimed, Rebellion! Sir, I beseech your Majesty do not say so bad a thing of us! your Majesty cannot but remember that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth's rebellion, and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another if there were occasion. Ken said he hoped the King would give that liberty to them, which he allowed to all mankind; to which White added, Sir, you allow liberty of conscience to all mankind; the reading this Declaration is against our conscience. Do you question my dispensing power? said the King. Some of you here have printed and preached for it, when it was for your purpose. The dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the Church of England. To this the Bishop of St. Asaph replied, that it had been declared against by the first Parliament of the late King, and by that which he himself had called: and when James insisted that they should publish his Declaration, and was answered by Bishop Ken in language as dutiful as it was resolute, "we are bound to fear God and honour the King; we desire to do both; we will

honour you; we must fear God." "Is this," said the indignant monarch, "what I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it? I will remember you that have signed this paper! I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration." To this Ken replied, God's will be done! and when the King exclaimed, what is that? he repeated the emphatic words. This memorable scene was terminated by the King's saying, "if I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are seven thousand men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal." And with that he dismissed them.

The King was miserably mistaken concerning the principles of the clergy. There were only four in London who read the Declaration, not more than two hundred throughout the whole kingdom: and after the King had thus expressed his displeasure, copies of the petition were subscribed by the Bishops of London, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter. After nine days of perplexity and indecision, James, yielding to evil counsellors and his own unhappy bigotry, summoned the seven first sub-

scribers to appear before him in council, and answer to a charge of misdemeanor. They appeared accordingly, acknowledged their subscriptions, and being asked what they meant by the dispensing power being declared illegal in Parliament, replied the words were so plain that they could use no plainer. It was demanded of them what want of prudence or honour there could be in obeying the King? They replied, "what is against conscience is against prudence, and honour too, especially in persons of our character;" and when they were asked why it was against their conscience, they answered because our consciences oblige us (as far as we are able) to preserve our laws and religion according to the Reformation. Upon other questions they referred to their petition, requested they might be excused from replying to points which might be brought against them, and desired a copy of the charge, and convenient time for advising about and answering it. They were then required to enter into recognizances for appearing in Westminster Hall: this they refused to do, on the ground that it was not usual for members of the House of Peers; declaring, however, that they should be ready to appear and answer whenever they were called. Many attempts were made to make them yield upon this point, but they continued firm, in conformity to

the legal advice which they had taken, and were in consequence committed to the Tower.

Popular feeling has seldom been more strongly, never more worthily, excited, than on this memorable occasion. The news spread immediately through London, and as the Bishops proceeded down the river to their place of confinement, the banks were crowded with spectators, who, while they knelt and asked their blessing, prayed themselves for a blessing upon them and their cause. The very soldiers who guarded them, and some even of the officers to whose charge they were committed, knelt in like manner before them, and besought their benediction. They the while, strictly consistent in the meek and magnanimous course of duty which they had chosen, exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty. In the evening they attended in the Tower chapel; and the second lesson for that service being the chapter wherein the Apostle Paul describes by what trials he approved himself a minister of God, and in the name of the Lord says, "I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee; behold, now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation:" the application was felt by the prisoners and by the nation, all feeling it as consolatory, and perhaps not a few regarding it as prophetic.

A leading man among the dissenters had been one of the chief advisers of this impolitic act. The King's confessor, father Petre, could not conceal his joy, that an irremediable breach was thus made with the Church of England, and he is said to have expressed his triumph in language worthy of Gardiner or Bonner in the days of their ascendency. Louis XIV. also applauded what had been done, and assured the English Ambassador that he was ready to give the King all manner of assistance. Encouraged thus by evil counsellors, and deluded as much by bigotry, as by a reliance upon the strength of his own government, and the covenanted aid of France, James did not perceive that of all modes of resistance to his designs he had provoked the most dangerous. The persons with whom he had placed himself at issue, were for their character and station the last with whom he should have sought to contend; their appeal was to the laws and constitution of the country, and upon a question where the religion of the country was at stake.

On the first day of term the Prelates were brought before the Court of King's Bench, being conveyed as usual by water. They were saluted with acclamations as they went, and with fervent prayers; and in their way from the river-side to Westminster Hall, passed through a lane of people, who kissed their hands and their garments,

and begged their blessing. About thirty peers and a considerable number of gentry attended them into court. After some legal objections had been offered and overruled, they pleaded not guilty to the charge of having consulted and conspired to diminish the royal authority, prerogative, and power, and having to that intent, unlawfully, maliciously, seditiously, and scandalously, composed a false, feigned, pernicious, and seditious libel, in manifest contempt of the King and the laws. That day fortnight was fixed for the trial, and they were then admitted to bail, upon their own recognizances. The ignorant populace seeing them thus at liberty regarded it as a deliverance, and celebrated it with public rejoicings. Bonfires were made in the streets, and healths drank to the Seven Champions of the Church, with an enthusiasm which might have taught the King his danger.

St. Peter's day happened to be the time appointed for the trial, and it was supposed that some of James's superstitious advisers had chosen it as a day of good omen, when the influence of the apostle might be expected in behalf of his Roman successors. The counsel for the prelates availed themselves of all those forms and technicalities which the law of England provides in favour of the accused. They required proof that the signatures to the petition were in their own

writing, and that the petition had been presented to the King with their knowledge and consent; a clerk of the Privy Council proved the first, by attesting that they themselves had owned their subscriptions; but upon the latter they must have been acquitted if it had not been recollected in time that the Earl of Sunderland had introduced them to the King, to deliver the obnoxious paper. It was fortunate for them and for England, that these subterfuges were unavailing, that the case was brought to a fair hearing, and their defence rested upon its proper grounds. The petition, their counsel then maintained, was neither false nor libellous: it was humbly and respectfully expressed, and presented privately, in the exercise of their right as subjects, of their duty as bishops. The charge against them was for attempting to diminish the King's prerogative: the only part of his prerogative to which the petition referred was his dispensing power; and that was a power they contended which the King of England neither did nor could possess. Such a power would strike at the very foundation of all the rights, liberties, and properties of the subject. If the King might suspend the laws of the land concerning religion, there was no other law which he might not suspend; and if he might suspend all the laws, in what condition then were the subjects? all at his mercy. The King's legal pre-

rogatives were as much for the advantage of his subjects as of himself, and no man disputed them; but they who attempted thus to extend his prerogative beyond what was legal, did him no service. The laws which were now in question were the great bulwark of the reformed religion. They are in truth, said Serjeant Pemberton, that which fenceth the religion and Church of England, and we have no other human fence besides. They were made upon a foresight of the mischiefs that had, and might come by false religions in this kingdom; and they were intended to defend the nation against them, and to keep them out: particularly to keep out the Romish religion, which is the very worst of all religions. By the law of all civilized nations, said Somers, "if the prince require something to be done which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, *rescribere principi*. This is all that is done here, and that in the most humble manner that can be thought of. Seditious the petition could not be, because it was presented to the King in private and alone: false it could not be, because the matter of it was true. There could be nothing of malice, for the occasion was not sought, the thing was pressed upon them; and a libel it could not be, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by the act of Parliament that gives the subject leave

to apply to his Prince by petition when he is aggrieved."

The Chief Justice Sir Robert Wright declared the petition libellous; of the three puisne judges, Allybone delivered the like opinion: Holloway and Powel pronounced it to be no libel, and the latter stated in strong terms that the King possessed no dispensing power, and therefore, that the Declaration, being founded upon the assumption of such a power, was illegal. The trial lasted the whole day, and at evening the jury retired. They were persons in respectable circumstances, and fairly chosen; for James made no attempt to control or pervert the course of justice. They were loud and eager in debate during great part of the night; food and drink, according to custom, were not allowed them, and when they begged for a candle to light their pipes, that indulgence was refused. At six in the morning the single juryman who had till then held out, (and who is said to have been the King's brewer,) yielded to the determination of his fellows, and a verdict of not guilty was returned. It was received with a shout which seemed to shake the Hall. The people had not conducted themselves with propriety during the trial; they had insulted the witnesses for the prosecution, and evinced a temper ready for greater outrages. Their exultation was unbounded now; and the acquittal

was announced in the city, by acclamations of tumultuous and triumphant joy, which outstript the speediest messengers. The prelates, with a feeling of becoming gratitude, went immediately to Whitehall Chapel to return thanks; all the churches were filled with people who crowded to them for the same intent; the bells rung from every tower, every house was illuminated, and bonfires were kindled in every street. Medals were struck in honour of the event, and portraits hastily published, and eagerly purchased, of men who were compared to the Seven Golden Candlesticks, and called the Seven Stars of the Protestant Church.

The King was in the camp at Hounslow when the verdict was pronounced, and asking the cause of a stir among the soldiers, was told it was nothing but their rejoicing for the acquittal of the Bishops. "Do you call that nothing?" he replied; "but so much the worse for them!" His presence in some degree repressed them; but no sooner had he left the camp, than they set up a shout, which, if further evidence had been needful, might have told him how impossible it was for him to overthrow the laws and the religion of England. His eyes were not yet opened to his danger; and persisting in his purpose, he dismissed the two Judges who had delivered their opinion in favour of the Bishops, and required,

through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the names of all the clergy who had omitted to read his Declaration. This was so far from intimidating them, that even of those who had read it, no small proportion declared from the pulpit their disapprobation of what they had read. And upon this occasion Sprat, the Bishop of Rochester, who had hitherto acted in the commission, withdrew from it, saying in a letter he could act in it no longer: for though he had obeyed the order of council himself, thinking himself bound in conscience so to do, he doubted not that those who had not obeyed, acted upon the same principle of following their conscience, and he would rather suffer with them, than concur in making them suffer. This conduct in a prelate who had been thought too pliant to the court, made the commissioners adjourn, and events soon put an end to that illegal jurisdiction.

Sancroft did not rest satisfied with his deliverance, in the belief that he had sufficiently discharged the duty of his high station. He had shown himself ready to suffer, and he now came forward with equal resolution to act. Admonitions to the Clergy were issued by him through their respective Bishops, in which they were enjoined four times at least a year, according to the canon, to "teach and inform the people, that all usurped and foreign jurisdiction had been for

most just causes taken away and abolished in this realm," and that no subjection was due to it, or to any who pretended to act by virtue of it; but "the King's power being in his dominions highest under God," the instructions were, that "they upon all occasions persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his Majesty in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest, promoting, as far as in them lay, the public peace and quiet of the world. They were to caution them against all seducers, and especially against Popish emissaries, who were now in great numbers gone forth, more busy and active than ever; and to impress upon them that it was not enough for them to be members of an excellent Church, rightly and duly reformed both in faith and worship, unless they also reformed and amended their own lives, and so ordered their conversation in all things, as becomes the gospel of Christ. And forasmuch as those Romish emissaries, like the old Serpent, are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people at the end of their lives, labouring to unsettle and perplex them in time of sickness, and at the hour of death; that therefore all who have the cure of souls be more especially vigilant over them at that dangerous season; that they stay not till they be sent for, but inquire out the sick in their respective parishes, and visit them frequently; that they examine them parti-

cularly concerning the state of their souls, and instruct them in their duties, and settle them in their doubts, and comfort them in their sorrows and sufferings, and pray often with them and for them; and by all the methods which our Church prescribes, prepare them for the due and worthy receiving of the Holy Eucharist, the pledge of their happy resurrection: thus with their utmost diligence watching over every sheep within their fold, (especially in that critical moment,) lest those ravening wolves devour them." Lastly, they were charged to walk in wisdom toward those who were not of their communion, conferring with them in the spirit of meekness, and seeking by all good ways and means to win them over; more especially with regard to their brethren the Protestant Dissenters, "that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them, if it may be, to a full compliance with our Church; or at least that 'whereto we have all attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.' And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcileable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies, of

the Church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to form with us a daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for the universal blessed union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love."

The more moderate and reasonable Dissenters were now awake to their danger; they saw the condition of the French Protestants, and perceived that nothing but the calm and steady opposition of the Church of England prevented the Romanists from regaining a supremacy which they were as ready as ever to abuse; for they had abated nothing of their fraud, their intolerance, or their inhumanity. The better part, therefore, felt now how much more important were the points in which they agreed with the Church than those on which they differed; and the scheme of comprehension was revived with less improbability of success than on any former occasion. But the course of events brought on a more violent crisis than Sancroft, who had this

scheme at heart, could approve; and the circumstances which ensued made him who was most desirous of healing one schism, unhappily the head of another. Men who were more of statesmen than divines, and who had less confidence than Sancroft in the cause, and in the strength of unyielding principles, were in correspondence with the Prince of Orange; and preparations were made in Holland for an expedition, on which the fate of the Protestant cause depended. When James received the first certain intelligence of this danger, he turned pale, and the letter dropt from his hand. The fear, indeed, which then possessed him, was manifested as plainly by his conduct as in his countenance; he published a Declaration that he would preserve the Church of England inviolable, that he was willing the Catholics should remain excluded from Parliament, and that he was ready to do every thing else for the safety and advantage of his loving subjects. He sent also for the Bishops, whom, as persons lying under his marked displeasure, he had not seen since their trial, and receiving their general expressions of duty, assured them of his favour. The interview ended in this; but the Bishops requested Sancroft to obtain for them a second audience, in which they might address the King as plainly and sincerely as their duty and his danger required.

They were introduced by Sancroft with a speech not unworthy of the occasion. Illness had prevented him from attending on the former summons; but he had heard, he said, from the King himself, and from his reverend Brethren, that nothing had passed further than general expressions of his Majesty's gracious inclinations to the Church, and their reciprocal duty and loyalty to him, both which were sufficiently understood and declared before. "Sir, I found it grieved my Lords the Bishops to have come so far and to have done so little; and I am assured they came then prepared to have given your Majesty some more particular instances of their duty and zeal for your service, had they not apprehended from some words which fell from your Majesty, that you were not then at leisure to receive them. It was for this reason, then, that I besought your Majesty to command us once more to attend you all together. We are, therefore, here now before you, with all humility, to beg your permission that we may suggest to your Majesty such advices as we think proper at this season, and conducing to your service, and so leave them for your princely consideration." Then, with the King's leave, he read the humble advice of himself and his brethren, which was to this purport: that the King would be pleased to put the government of the several counties into the

hands of such of the Nobility and Gentry as were legally qualified; that he would annul the Ecclesiastical Commission, and that no such court as that Commission set up might be erected in future; that no dispensation might be granted or continued, by which persons not duly qualified by law might hold any place in Church or State, or in the Universities, and that the President and Fellows of Magdalen College might be restored: that licenses for persons of the Romish Communion to teach public schools might be set aside, and none such granted for the future: that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to desist from the exercise of such a dispensing power as had of late been used, and permit that point to be freely and calmly debated, and finally settled in Parliament: that he would inhibit the four foreign Bishops, who styled themselves Vicars Apostolical, from further invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which is by law vested in the Bishops of this Church: (these Romish prelates had been recently consecrated in the King's Chapel, and sent out to exercise episcopal functions in their respective dioceses, where they dispersed their pastoral letters under the express permission of the King:) that he would restore the ancient charters, privileges and franchises, to those Corporations which had been deprived of them: that he would issue writs for

the calling of a free and regular Parliament, in which the Church of England might be secured according to the Acts of Uniformity, provision made for due liberty of conscience, and for securing the liberties and properties of all his subjects, and mutual confidence and good understanding established between him and all his people; above all, they requested that he would permit them to offer such arguments as, they trusted, might, by God's grace, be effectual for persuading him to return to the communion of the Church of England, "into whose most catholic faith," said they, "you were baptized, and in which you were educated, and to which it is our daily earnest prayer to God, that you may be reunited. These, Sir, are the humble advices which out of conscience to the duty we owe to God, to your Majesty, and to our Country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majesty, as suitable to the present state of your affairs, and most conducing to your service; and so to leave them to your princely consideration. And we heartily beseech Almighty God, 'in whose hand the hearts of all kings are, so to dispose and govern yours, that in all your thoughts, words, and works, you may ever seek his honour and glory, and study to preserve the people committed to your charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness, to your own both temporal and eternal happiness.'"

The paper was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, as his composition; and by the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, as heartily concurring in it.

Awakened as James was to the consequences of his own imprudence, he received this advice as if he were sensible of its value, thanked them for it, and promised to observe it. The promise was sincere; and in the course of a few days he dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission, re-established the Fellows of Magdalen, and restored the Corporations. It was too late: the nation felt that under a king whose conscience was not in his own keeping, there could be no safety against the ambition of a restless Church which kept no faith, and held principles upon which, by the strictest reasoning, persecution becomes a duty. Some further security than promises, or even proofs of an altered system, was become needful; what that security should be, perhaps no persons knew or could satisfy themselves; this only was apparent, that it could only be obtained through the interference of the Prince of Orange, whose close alliance with the royal family gave him a proper interest in what was also the cause of the reformed religion. It was observed, with just jealousy, that, even in the Declaration which James had issued in pursuance of his promise,

he had spoken of the Church of England as by law established, never of the Protestant, or reformed religion; and the papistical reservation was clearly understood, which looked upon the Popish Church still as the lawful one. Even the measure of summoning the Bishops to advise the King separately, without any of the other Peers, was thought to be a device for rendering them suspected, and weakening their influence with the nation. And this effect would have followed, if Sancroft, when he was commanded to compose a form of prayer suited to the existing danger of the kingdom, had not performed his difficult task with such excellent discretion as at the same time to satisfy the King, and confirm the people in their constitutional and religious duty.

As the danger drew nearer, James required the Bishops to draw up a paper expressing their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's intended invasion; this, he insisted, was the more necessary, because William in his declaration affirmed that several of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, had invited him to England. They denied having any part in, or knowledge of, such an invitation; and argued that the very clause which mentioned it, rendered the authenticity of the manifesto suspicious; for if the thing were true, it would be unwise in the Prince to avow it so soon; and if

false, it could hardly be imagined that he would publish a manifest untruth, making it the ground of his enterprise. "What," was the King's indignant answer, "he that can do as he does, think you he will stick at a lie? You all know how usual it is for men in such cases to affirm any kind of falsehoods for the advantage of their cause." The Prelates had here to steer a difficult course; what the King desired was, that they should put forth the whole influence of the Church against an expedition, which was undertaken for the preservation of that Church and of the Protestant cause, and this they were determined not to do. They endeavoured to evade the point, by saying how much they had already suffered for interfering with matters of state. James observed that this was not to the purpose, and that he thought all that had been forgotten; that it concerned him more to have the Bishops issue such a paper as he required, than that the temporal Lords should do it, because they had greater interest with the people; and that as all London would know what he had asked of them, it would be a great prejudice to his affairs if it were denied. They were firm to their purpose; the place, they said, in which they could best serve him, was in Parliament, and when he should please to call one he would find that the true interest of the Church of England is insepa-

rable from the true interest of the Crown. My Lords, replied the King, that is a business of more time. What I ask now, I think of present concernment to my affairs. But this is the last time: I will urge you no further. If you will not assist me as I desire, I must stand upon my own legs, and trust to myself and my own arms. They made answer that as Bishops they did assist him with their prayers, and as Peers they entreated that they might serve him, either by his speedily calling a Parliament, or if that were thought too remote, by assembling with them as many of the temporal Lords as were in London, or its vicinity. But this would not answer the end which James purposed.

It was not known that the Prince of Orange had then actually effected a landing. When that intelligence arrived, the Bishops and some of the temporal Peers assembled at Lambeth, and joined in an address to the King, stating, that under a deep sense of the miseries of a war then breaking forth in the bowels of the kingdom, of the danger to which his person was thereby like to be exposed, as also of the distractions of the people by reason of their present grievances, they thought themselves bound in conscience of the duty which they owed to God, to their holy religion, to his majesty and to their country, to represent that, in their opinion, the only visible way

for preserving himself and the kingdom, would be the calling a Parliament regular and free in all its circumstances. His reply was: What you ask of me I most passionately desire; and I promise you, upon the faith of a King, that I will have a Parliament, and such a one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm. For how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near an hundred voices? There was more truth, as well as spirit, in this reply, than the people were in a humour to acknowledge. But James, by his previous misconduct, had placed himself in such a situation, that, act how he would now, it was impossible for him to act well. He was beset with false counsellors, and faithless friends, as much as with difficulties; and though sincere enough to sacrifice every thing for the sake of his religion, and never to regret that sacrifice, he could obtain no credit for sincerity in any profession, or promises, or pledges to his people, because they knew that all pledges were set at nought if the interests of the Romish Church required that they should be broken.

A few days afterwards when he became more sensible of his extreme danger, he summoned a Parliament; it was too late: the writs had not

been issued when he fled from London, and Sancroft, with other spiritual and temporal Peers joined in applying to the Prince of Orange to call one. Thus far the Primate aided in the revolution, no further. When James was brought back to Whitehall, Sancroft was one of the Prelates who waited on him there, and to whom he expressed a sense of their dutiful affection towards him. If indeed he contrasted the conduct of Becket, and other Popish prelates, towards his predecessors, and that of the puritanical clergy toward his father, with the steady, respectful, dutiful and peaceful, opposition which he had himself experienced from Sancroft and his brethren, he must have felt the value of that Church, which he in his bigotry had endeavoured to subvert. Something like this he seems to have felt; and one of the first letters which he wrote from France, after his final flight, was to the Primate, saying that he had intended to have laid before him the grounds and motives of his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion, but that the suddenness of his departure had prevented it. He had not been persuaded, he said, to change while he was young; the conversion had taken place in his riper years, and on the full conviction of his mind; but he never refused speaking freely with those of the Protestant persuasion, and particularly with him, whom he always

considered to be his friend, and for whom he had a great esteem. If James had conversed upon these subjects with Sancroft, and such men as Sancroft, instead of the Jesuits with whom he was surrounded, happy might it have been for himself, and his family, and his kingdoms.

Upon the important question of settling the Government, which now ensued, the great body of the Clergy agreed in opinion with the Primate that the best course was to declare the King incapable of the Government, and to appoint the Prince of Orange *Custos Regni*, to carry it on in the King's right and name. "The political capacity or authority of the King," thus Sancroft reasoned, "are perfect and cannot fail; but his person being human and mortal, and not otherwise privileged than the rest of mankind, is subject to all the defects and failings of it. He may therefore be incapable of directing the government either by absence, by infancy, by lunacy, deliracy, or apathy, whether by nature or casual infirmity; or lastly, by some invincible prejudices of mind, contracted and fixed by education and habit, with unalterable resolutions superinduced, in matters wholly inconsistent and incompatible with the laws, religion, peace and true policy of the kingdom." The Archbishop saw that James had placed himself in this predicament, and thinking that the appointment of a Regent upon

these grounds was the only just course, he believed it therefore to be the only wise one. "For it is a great truth," said he, "that the mind and opinion of every individual person is an ingredient into the happiness or ruin of a government, though it be not discerned till it comes to the eruption of a general discontent. Things just and good and grateful should be done without expectation of immediate payment for so doing, but in the course and felicity of proceedings wherein there will certainly, though insensibly, be a full return. For all things in which the public is concerned, tend constantly, though slowly, and at last violently, to the justice of them: and if a *vis impressa* happens, and carries them (as for the most part it doth) beyond or beside what is just, yet that secret vigour and influence of particular, and private men's inclinations, brings them back again to the true perpendicular. And whoever he is that hath to do in the public, and slights these considerations, preferring some political scheme before them, shall find his hypothesis full of flattery at the first, of trouble in the proceeding, and of confusion in the last."

Thus excellently did this wise and upright man reason; but he soon found that in a time of political troubles, good men find it easier to suffer then to act. The fear of doing wrong produced

in him a vacillation, or at least a timidity of mind which rendered him incapable of taking a decided part; and when the question was debated in the House of Lords, whether a Regent should be appointed, and the throne filled up as being vacant, Sancroft was not present at the debate. His presence might not improbably have turned the scale, for it was carried against a regency but by a majority of two. Only two Bishops voted for filling up the throne, nine against it; and when the oath of allegiance to William and Mary was to be taken nine Prelates refused to take it. Among those, who thus chose to incur the penalty of deprivation rather than transfer that allegiance, which they believed to be indefeasible, were Sancroft, Ken, Turner, Lake and White, five of those seven to whose magnanimous resistance the nation was mainly indebted for its deliverance from an arbitary government, and a persecuting religion. About four hundred of the Clergy followed their example. The great body agreeing with them and with the national voice as pronounced in Parliament, that Popery is inconsistent with the English constitution, admitted the justice and necessity of the law by which all Papists were for ever excluded from the succession to the crown.

That the Nonjurors judged erroneously must be admitted; but never were any men who acted

upon an erroneous opinion more entitled to respect. Ferocious libels were published against them, wherein hints were given that the people would do well in *De-Witting* them, a bloody word derived from an accursed deed, at that time fresh in remembrance. The Government however treated them with tenderness, and long put off the deprivation, which it was at length compelled to pronounce; but it is not to its honour that it reserved no provision for the sequestered Clergy, considering their offence consisted only in adhering to the principle without which no government can be secure; and that although an act was past allowing the King to continue to any twelve of these persons a third of their former revenue, this bounty was not exercised in a single instance,... unless indeed there was an apprehension that it would have been refused if offered. If a few individuals were engaged in correspondence with the exiled family, the greater number gave no offence to the Government, nor excited any jealousy, but contented themselves with practising the non-resistance which they taught. As their opinions were not connected with any political or religious enthusiasm, there was nothing to perpetuate them, and the Nonjurors died away long before the House of Stuart was extinct.

From the time of the Revolution the Church of England has partaken of the stability and security of the State. Here therefore I terminate this compendious, but faithful, view of its rise, progress, and political struggles. It has rescued us, first from heathenism, then from papal idolatry and superstition; it has saved us from temporal as well as spiritual despotism. We owe to it our moral and intellectual character as a nation; much of our private happiness, much of our public strength. Whatever should weaken it, would in the same degree injure the common weal; whatever should overthrow it, would in sure and immediate consequence bring down the goodly fabric of that Constitution, whereof it is a constituent and necessary part. If the friends of the Constitution understand this as clearly as its enemies, and act upon it as consistently and as actively, then will the Church and State be safe, and with them the liberty and the prosperity of our country.

THE END.

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